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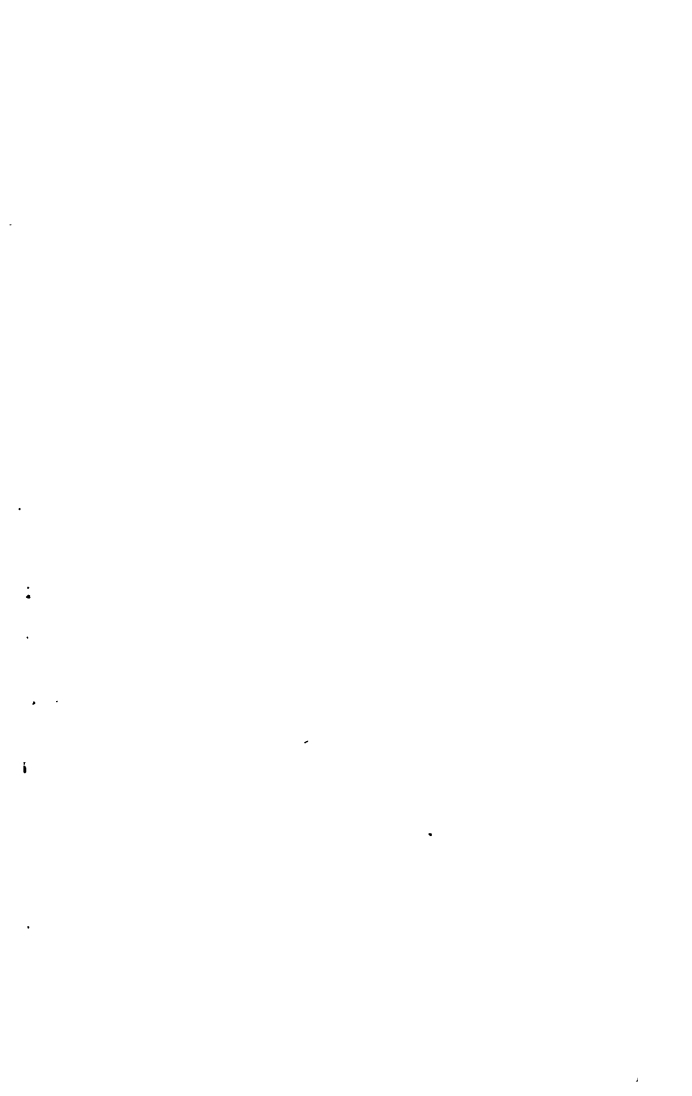
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# AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

## A Collection

OF THE

MOST INSTRUCTIVE AND AMUSING  
LIVES

EVER PUBLISHED,

WRITTEN BY THE PARTIES THEMSELVES.

WITH BRIEF INTRODUCTIONS, AND COMPENDIOUS  
SEQUELS CARRYING ON THE NARRATIVE TO THE  
DEATH OF EACH WRITER.

VOLUME XI.

J. CREIGHTON.—W. GIFFORD.—T. ELLWOOD

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THE  
MEMOIRS  
OF  
CAPTAIN JOHN CREIGHTON,

FROM HIS OWN MATERIALS,

DRAWN UP AND DIGESTED BY

JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D. D.S.P.D.

FIRST PRINTED IN 1731.

LONDON: 1827.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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ALTHOUGH, as related in the following Advertisement, the 'Memoirs of Captain Creighton' were arranged and methodized by Swift, yet, having been formed out of his own papers and oral explanations, they retain all the character and spirit, as well as the form of Autobiography. They are chiefly valuable, at the present time of day, as descriptive of the scenes of strife and civil warfare produced by the unfortunate policy adopted by Charles II and James II, in regard to Scotland, as well as by the religious enthusiasm and heated fanaticism which were directly opposed to it. It is well observed by Swift, in his address to the reader, that "we read with pleasure the works of many authors whose party we disapprove;" and no doubt some such disposition must be depended upon in many quarters, for the entertainment derivable from the narrative of captain Creighton, whose education and profession made him a decided partisan. To conclude with an observation which in these days

of industrious emendation will not be thrown away, these Memoirs form an excellent illustrative companion to the excellent story of 'Old Mortality,' in the celebrated 'Tales of My Landlord;' the scenes in which the author was engaged, being precisely those which the imaginative facility therein displayed, have rendered so forcibly descriptive, and so dramatically interesting.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

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WHEN Dr Swift was at sir Arthur Acheson's, at Markethill in the county of Armagh, an old gentleman was recommended to him, as being a remarkable cavalier in the reigns of Charles II, James II, and William III; who had behaved with great loyalty and bravery in Scotland during the troubles of those reigns, but was neglected by the government, although he deserved great rewards from it. As he was reduced in his circumstances, Dr Swift made him a handsome present; but said at the same time, "Sir, this trifle cannot support you long, and your friends may grow tired of you; therefore, I would have you contrive some honest means of getting a sum of money sufficient to put you into a way of life of supporting yourself with independency in your old age." To which captain Creighton (for that was the gentleman's name) answered, "I have tired all my friends, and cannot expect any such extraordinary favours." Then Dr Swift replied, "Sir, I have heard much of your adventures; that they are fresh in your memory; you can tell them with great humour; and that you have taken memorandums of them in writing." To which the captain said, "I have; but no one can understand them but myself." Then Dr Swift rejoined, "Sir, get your manuscripts, read them to me, and tell me none but genuine stories; and then I will place them in order for you, prepare them for the press, and endeavour to get you a subscription among

my friends, as you may do among your own." The captain soon after waited on the dean with his papers, and related many adventures to him, which the dean was so kind as to put in order of time, to correct the style, and make a small book of, intitled 'The Memoirs of Captain John Creighton.' A subscription was immediately set on foot by the dean's interest and recommendation, which raised for the captain above two hundred pounds, and made the remaining part of his life very happy and easy.



cates. This inclines me to think that the memoirs of captain Creighton may not be unacceptable to the curious of every party ; because, from my knowledge of the man, and the testimony of several considerable persons, of different political denominations, I am confident that he hath not inserted one passage or circumstance which he did not know, or, from the best intelligence he could get, believed to be true.

These memoirs are therefore offered to the world in their native simplicity. And it was not with little difficulty that the author was persuaded by his friends to recollect and put them in order, chiefly for his own justification, and partly by the importunity of several eminent gentlemen, who had a mind that they should turn to some profit to the author.

The captain having made over all his little estate to a beloved daughter upon her marriage, on condition of being entertained in her house for the small remainder of his life, hath put it out of his own power either to supply his incidental wants, or pay some long-contracted debts, or to gratify his generous nature in being farther useful to his family ; on which accounts, he desires to return his most humble thanks to his worthy subscribers, and hopes they will consider him no farther than as an honest well-meaning man, who, by his own personal courage and conduct, was able to distinguish himself, under many disadvantages, to a degree that few private lives have been attended with so many singular and extraordinary events.

Besides the great simplicity in the style and manner

of the author, it is a very valuable circumstance that his plain relation corrects many mistaken passages in other historians, which have too long passed for truths; and whoever impartially compares both, will probably decide in the captain's favour; for the memory of old men is seldom deceived in what passed in their youth and vigour of age; and if he hath, at any time, happened to be mistaken in circumstances of time or place (with neither of which I can charge him), it was certainly against his will. Some of his own personal distress and actions, which he hath related, might be almost the subject of a tragedy.

Upon the whole, comparing great things to small, I know not any memoirs that more resemble those of Philip de Comines (which have received so universal approbation) than these of captain Creichton, which are told in a manner equally natural, and with equal appearance of truth; although I confess, upon affairs in a more obscure scene, and of less importance.

J. S.

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## TO THE READER.

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THE author of these Memoirs, captain John Creighton, is still alive (1731) and resides in the northern parts of this kingdom. He is a very honest and worthy man, but of the old stamp; and it is probable that some of his principles will not relish very well in the present disposition of the world. His memoirs are therefore to be received like a posthumous work, and as containing facts which very few alive, except himself, can remember; upon which account none of his generous subscribers are in the least answerable for many opinions relating to the public, both in church and state, which he seems to justify; and in the vindication of which, to the hazard of his life and the loss of his fortune, he spent the most useful part of his days. Principles, as the world goes, are little more than fashion; and the apostle tells us, that "the fashion of this world passeth away." We read with pleasure the memoirs of several authors, whose party we disapprove, if they be written with nature and truth. Curious men are desirous to see what can be said on both sides; and even the virulent flat relation of Ludlow, though written in the spirit of rage, prejudice, and vanity, doth not want its advo-



# MEMOIRS

OR

## CAPTAIN JOHN CREICHTON.

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THE former part of my life having been attended with some passages and events, not very common to men of my private and obscure condition, I have (perhaps induced by the talkativeness of old age) very freely and frequently communicated them to several worthy gentlemen, who were pleased to be my friends, and some of them my benefactors. These persons professed themselves to be so well entertained with my story, that they often wished it could be digested into order, and published to the world, believing that such a treatise, by the variety of incidents, written in a plain unaffected style, might be, at least, some amusement to indifferent readers; of some example to those who desire strictly to adhere to their duty and principles, and might serve to vindicate my reputation in Scotland, where I am well known, that kingdom having been the chief scene of my acting, and where I have been represented by a fanatic rebellious party as a persecutor of the saints, and a man of blood.

Having lost the benefit of a thorough school education by a most indiscreet marriage, in all worldly views, although to a very good woman, and, in consequence thereof being forced to seek my fortune in Scotland as a soldier, where I forgot all the little I

had learned, the reader cannot reasonably expect to be much pleased with my style, or method, or manner of relating: it is enough, if I never wilfully fail in point of truth, nor offend by malice or partiality. My memory, I thank God, is yet very perfect as to things long past, although, like an old man, I retain but little of what hath happened since I grew into years.

I am likewise very sensible of an infirmity in many authors who write their own memoirs, and are apt to lay too much weight upon trifles, which they are vain enough to conceive the world to be as much concerned in as themselves; yet I remember that Plutarch, in his lives of great men (which I have read in the English translation) says, that the nature and disposition of a man's mind may be often better discovered by a small circumstance, than by an action or event of the greatest importance; and, besides, it is not improbable that grey hairs may have brought upon me a vanity, to desire that posterity may know what manner of man I was.

I lie under another disadvantage, and indeed a very great one, from the wonderful change of opinions since I first made any appearance in the world. I was bred under the principles of the strictest loyalty to my prince, and in an exact conformity in discipline, as well as doctrine, to the church of England, which are neither altered nor shaken to this very day, and I am now too old to mend; however, my different sentiments, since my last troubles after the revolution, have never had the least influence either upon my actions or discourse. I have submitted myself with entire resignation, according to St Paul's precept, "to the powers that be." I converse equally with all parties, and am equally favoured by all; and God knows it is of little consequence what my opinions are, under such a weight of age and infirmities, with a very scanty subsistence, which, instead of comforting, will hardly support me.

But there is another point, which requires a better apology than I am able to give. A judicious reader will be apt to censure me, and, I confess, with reason enough, as guilty of a very foolish superstition in relating my dreams, and how I was guided by them with success in discovering one or two principal covenants. I shall not easily allow myself to be, either by nature or education, more superstitious than other men:—but I take the truth to be this; being then full of zeal against enthusiastical rebels, and better informed of their lurking holes than most officers in the army, this made so strong an impression on my mind that it affected my dreams, when I was directed to the most probable places almost as well as if I had been awake, being guided in the night by the same conjectures I had made in the day. There could possibly be no more in the matter; and God forbid I should pretend to a spirit of divination, which would make me to resemble those very hypocritical saints, whom it was both my duty and inclination to bring to justice, for their many horrid blasphemies against God, rebellions against their prince, and barbarities towards their countrymen and fellow-christians.

My great grandfather, Alexander Creichton, of the house of Dumfries, in Scotland, in a feud between the Maxwells and the Johnstons (the chief of the Johnstons being the lord Johnston, ancestor of the present marquis of Annandale), siding with the latter, and having killed some of the former, was forced to fly into Ireland, where he settled near Kinard, then a woody country, and now called Calidon; but within a year or two, some friends and relations of those Maxwells who had been killed in the feud, coming over to Ireland to pursue their revenge, lay in wait for my grandfather in the wood, and shot him dead as he was going to church. This accident happened about the time that James the sixth of Scotland came to the crown of England, or 1603.

Alexander, my great grandfather, left two sons, and

as many daughters; his eldest son John lived till a year or two after the rebellion in 1641. His house was the first in Ulster set upon by the Irish, who took and imprisoned him at Dungannon; but, fortunately making his escape, he went to sir Robert Stuart, who was then in arms for the king, and died in the service.

This John, who was my grandfather, left two sons; Alexander my father, and a younger son likewise named John, who, being a child but two or three years old at his father's death, was invited to Scotland by the lady Dumfries, there educated by her, and sent to sea. He made several voyages to and from Barbadoes, then settled in Scotland, where he died some time after the restoration, leaving, beside a daughter, one son, who, at my charges, was bred up a physician, and proved so famous in his profession that he was sent by her majesty queen Anne to cure the king of Portugal of the venereal disease. He had a thousand pounds paid him in hand, before he began his journey; but, when he arrived at Lisbon, the Portuguese council and physicians dissuaded that king from trusting his person with a foreigner. However, his majesty of Portugal shewed him several marks of his esteem; and, at parting, presented him with a very rich jewel, which he sold afterwards for five hundred guineas. He stayed there not above six weeks, during which time he got considerable practice. After living many years in London, where he grew very rich, he died, November 1726; and, as it is believed, without making a will, which is very probable; because, although he had no children, he left me no legacy, who was his cousin-german, and had been his greatest benefactor, by the care and expense of his education. Upon this matter I must add one circumstance more, how little significant soever it may be to others. Mr archdeacon Maurice being at London, in order to his journey to France on account of his health, went to visit the doctor, and put him

in mind of me, urging the obligations I had laid upon him. The doctor agreed to send me whatever sum of money the archdeacon should think reasonable, and deliver it to him on his return from his travels; but unfortunately the doctor died two or three days before the archdeacon came back.

Alexander, my father, was about eighteen years old in 1641. The Irish rebellion then breaking out, he went to captain Gerard Irvin, his relation, who was then captain of horse, and afterwards knighted by king Charles the second. This gentleman, having a party for the king, soon after joined with sir Robert Stuart in the county of Donegal; where, in the course of those troubles, they continued skirmishing, sometimes with Irish rebels, and sometimes with those of the English parliament, after the rebellion in England began: till at length captain Irvin, and one Mr Stuart, were taken prisoners, and put in jail in Derry; which city was kept for the parliament against the king, by sir Charles Coote. Here my father performed a very memorable and gallant action, in rescuing his relation captain Irvin, and Mr Stuart. I will relate this fact in all its particulars, not only because it will do some honour to my father's memory, but likewise because, for its boldness and success, it seems to me very well to deserve recording.

My father having received information that sir Charles Coote, governor of Derry, had publicly declared that captain Irvin and his companion should be put to death within two or three days, communicated this intelligence to seven trusty friends, who all engaged to assist him, with the hazard of their lives, in delivering the two gentlemen from the danger that threatened them. They all agreed that my father and three more, at the hour of six in the morning, when the west-gate stood open, and the drawbridge was let down for the governor's horses to go out to water, should ride in, one by one, after a manner as

if they belonged to the town, and there conceal themselves in a friend's house till night; at which time my father was to acquaint captain Irvin and his fellow-prisoner with their design, which was to this purpose: that, after concerting measures at the prison, my father should repair to a certain place on the city wall, and give instructions to the four without, at twelve at night. Accordingly, next morning, as soon as the gate was open, my father, with his three comrades, got into the town; and the same night, having settled matters with the two gentlemen, that they should be ready at six next morning, at which hour he and his three friends should call upon them, he then went to the wall, and directed the four who were without, that as soon as they should see the gate open and the bridge drawn, one of them should walk up to the sentry, and secure him from making any noise by holding a pistol to his breast; after which the other three should ride up and secure the room where the by-guard lay, to prevent them from coming out. Most of the garrison were in their beds, which encouraged my father and his friends, and much facilitated the enterprise; therefore precisely at six o'clock, when the by-guard and sentry at the western-gate were secured by the four without, my father and the other three within being mounted on horseback, with one spare horse, in the habit of town's-people, with cudgels in their hands, called at the jail-door on pretence to speak to captain Irvin and Mr Stuart. They were both walking in a large room in the jail, with the jailor and three soldiers attending them; but these not suspecting the persons on horseback before the door, whom they took to be inhabitants of the town, my father asked captain Irvin whether he had any commands to a certain place where he pretended to be going? The captain made some answer, but said they should not go before they had drunk with him; then giving a piece of money to one of the soldiers to buy a bottle of

sack at a tavern a good way off, and pretending likewise some errand for another soldier, sent him also out of the way; there being now none left to guard the prisoners but the jailor and the third soldier, captain Irvin leaped over the hatch door, and as the jailor leaped after, my father knocked him down with his cudgel. While this was doing, Mr Stuart tripped up the soldier's heels, and immediately leaped over the hatch. They both mounted, Stuart on the horse behind my father, and Irvin on the spare one, and in a few minutes came up with their companions at the gate, before the main guard could arrive, although it was kept within twenty yards of the jail-door.

I should have observed, that as soon as captain Irvin and his friend got over the hatch, my father and his comrades put a couple of broadswords into their hands, which they had concealed under their cloaks, and at the same time drawing their own, were all six determined to force their way against any who offered to obstruct them in their passage; but the dispatch was so sudden, that they got clear out of the gate before the least opposition could be made. They were no sooner gone, than the town was alarmed; Coote, the governor, got out of his bed, and ran into the streets in his shirt, to know what the hubbub meant, and was in a great rage at the accident. The adventurers met the governor's groom coming back with his master's horses from watering; they seized the horses, and got safe to sir Robert Stuart's, about four miles off, without losing one drop of blood in this hazardous enterprise.

This gallant person (if I may so presume to call my father) had above twenty children by his wife Anne Maxwell, of the family of the earl of Niddisdale, of whom I was the eldest; they all died young except myself, three other boys, and two girls, who lived to be men and women. My second brother I

took care to have educated at Glasgow; but he was drowned at two and twenty years old, in a storm, on his return to Ireland. The other two died captains abroad, in the service of king William.

I was born on the eighth day of May 1648, at Castle Fin, in the county of Donegal. I made some small progress in learning at the school of Dunganon; but when I was eighteen years old, I very inconsiderately married Mrs Elizabeth Delgarno, my school-master's daughter, by whom I have had thirteen children, who all died young, except two daughters, married to two brothers, James and Charles Young, of the county of Tyrone.

Having been so very young when I married, I could think of no other course to advance my fortune than by getting into the army. Captain Irvin, often mentioned already, had a brother, who was a physician in Edinburgh, to whom he wrote in my favour, desiring he would recommend me to the marquis of Athol, and others, then at the head of affairs in Scotland; this was in the year 1674. There were then but one troop of horse guards (whereof the marquis was colonel) and one regiment of foot-guards, commanded by the earl of Linlithgow, in that kingdom; and they consisted chiefly of gentlemen.

Dr Irvin, physician to the horse-guards, accordingly presented me to the marquis of Athol, requesting that I might be received into his troop. His lordship, pretending there was no vacancy, was, by the doctor, threatened, in a free jesting manner, with a dose of poison, instead of physic, the first time he should want his skill: "Weel, weel then," quoth the marquis, "what is your friend's name?"—"Deel tak' me," answered the doctor, "gin I ken." Whereupon I was called in to write my name in the roll. I was then ordered to repair to the troop at Stirling, with directions to lieutenant-colonel Cockburn, the commanding officer, to put me into which of the four



squadrons, whereof the troops consisted, he thought fit. He thereupon placed me in his own, and appointed me my quarters.

Soon after this, the conventicles growing numerous in the west, several parties were drawn out to suppress them; among whom I never failed to make one, in hopes thereby to be taken notice of by my commanders, for I had nothing to recommend me except my activity, diligence, and courage, being a stranger and born out of that kingdom.

My first action, after having been taken into the guards, was, with a dozen gentlemen more, to go in quest of Mas David Williamson, a noted covenanter; since made more famous in the book called the 'Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence.' I had been assured, that this Williamson did much frequent the house of my lady Cherrytree, within ten miles of Edinburgh; but when I arrived first with my party about the house, the lady well knowing our errand, put Williamson to bed to her daughter, disguised in a woman's night-dress. When the troopers went to search in the young lady's room, her mother pretended that she was not well; and Williamson so managed the matter, that when the daughter raised herself a little in the bed, to let the troopers see her, they did not discover him, and so went off disappointed. But the young lady proved with child; and Williamson, to take off the scandal, married her in some time after. This Williamson married five or six wives successively, and was alive in the reign of queen Anne; at which time I saw him preaching in one of the kirks at Edinburgh. It is said that king Charles the second, hearing of Williamson's behaviour in lady Cherrytree's house, wished to see the man that discovered so much vigour while his troopers were in search of him; and in a merry way declared, that when he was in the royal oak he could not have kissed the bonniest lass in Christendom.

Some time after this, Thomas Dalziel, general of

the forces in Scotland, an excellent soldier, who had been taken prisoner at the famous battle of Worcester, and sent prisoner to the Tower; escaping from thence into Muscovy, was made general to the czar; and returning home, after the restoration, was preferred by the king to be general of the forces in Scotland, in which post he continued till his death, which happened a little before the revolution. This general commanded fifty of the foot-guards, with an ensign, to accompany me and follow my directions in the pursuit of a notorious rebel, one Adam Stobo, a farmer in Fife, near Colross. This fellow had gone through the west, endeavouring to stir up sedition in the people by his great skill in canting and praying. There had been several parties sent out after him, before I and my men undertook the business, but they could never discover him. We reached Colross at night, where I directed the ensign, and all the men, to secure three or four rebels who were in the place, while I, with two or three of the soldiers to assist me, went to Stobo's house, about a mile and a half from Colross, by break of day, for fear some of his friends might give him notice. Before I got to the house, I observed a kiln in the way, which I ordered to be searched, because I found there a heap of straw in the passage up to the kiln-pot. There I found Stobo lurking, and carried him to Colross, although his daughter offered me a hundred dollars to let him go. We returned immediately to the general at Edinburgh, with Stobo and the prisoners taken by the ensign at Colross. They continued awhile in confinement, but Stobo, at his trial, found friends enough to save his life, and was only banished; yet he returned home a year after, and proved as troublesome and seditious as ever, till at the fight of Bothwell bridge, it was thought he was killed, for he was never heard of afterwards.

During the time I was in the guards, about two years after the affair of Mas David Williamson at

the lady Cherrytree's, I was quartered with a party at Bathgate, which is a small village, twelve miles from Edinburgh. One Sunday morning, by break of day, I and my comrade, a gallant Highland gentleman of the name of Grant, went out disguised in grey coats and bonnets, in search after some conventicle. We travelled on foot eight or ten miles into the wild mountains, where we spied three fellows on the top of a hill, whom we conjectured to stand there as spies, to give intelligence of a conventicle, when any of the king's troopers should happen to come that way. There they stood, with long poles in their hands, till I and my friend came pretty near, and then they turned to go down the hill. When we observed this, we took a little compass, and came up with them on the other side; whereupon they stood still, leaning on their poles. Then I bounced forward upon one of them, and suddenly snatching the pole out of his hand, asked him why he carried such a pole on the Lord's day? and at the same time knocked him down with it. My comrade immediately seized on the second, and laid him flat by a grip of his hair; but the third took to his heels, and ran down the hill. However, having left my friend to guard the two former, I overtook the last, and felled him likewise; but the place being steep, the violence with which I ran carried me a good way down the hill before I could recover myself, after the stroke I had given, and by the time I could get up again to the place where he lay, the rogue had got on his feet, and was fumbling for a side pistol that hung at his belt under his upper coat; which as soon as I observed, I fetched him to the ground a second time with the pole, and seized on his pistol; then leading him up to the other two, I desired my friend to examine their pockets, and see whether they carried any powder or ball, but we found none.

We then led our prisoners down the hill, at the foot of which there was a bog, and on the other side

a man sitting on a rock: when we advanced near him, leaving our prisoners in the keeping of my friend, I ran up towards the man, who fled down on the other side. As soon as I had reached the top of the rock, there appeared a great number of people assembled in a glen, to hear the preaching of Mas John King, as I understood afterward; whose voice was so loud, that it reached the ears of those who were at the greatest distance, which could not, I think, be less than a quarter of a mile; they all standing before him, and the wind favouring the strength of his lungs. When my friend had brought the three prisoners to the top of the rock, where I waited for him, they all broke loose, and ran down to the conventicle: but my friend, advancing within about forty yards of that rabble, commanded them in his majesty's name to depart to their own homes. Whereupon forty of their number, with poles in their hands, drew out from the rest, and advanced against us two, who had the courage, or rather the temerity, to face so great a company, which could not be fewer than a thousand. As this party of theirs were preparing with their long poles to attack me and my friend, it happened very luckily that a fine gelding, saddled and bridled, with a pillion likewise upon him, came up near us, in search for better grass; I caught the horse, and immediately mounted him, which the rest of the conventiclors observing, they broke up and followed as fast as they could, some on horseback, and the rest on foot, to prevent me from going off with the horse; but I put him to the gallop, and suffering him to chuse his way through the mountain, which was full of bogs and hags, got out of reach. My friend kept up with me as long as he could, but having run a mile through such difficult places, he was quite spent, and the conventiclors hard at his heels; whereupon he called to me for assistance; and I alighting put him upon the horse, bidding him to make the best of his way to the laird of Pod-

dishaw's, about two miles off. By this time we saw twelve covenanters on horseback, who advanced towards us by a shorter cut, and blocked up a gap, through which we were of necessity to pass. I undertook to clear the gap for my friend, and running towards the rogues, with my broadsword and pistol, soon forced them to open to the right and the left: my comrade got through, and was pursued a good way; but he so laid about him with his broadsword, that the pursuers, being unarmed, durst not seize him. In the meantime, I, who was left on foot, kept the covenanters, who followed me, at a proper distance; but they pelted me with clods, which I sometimes returned, till at last, after chasing me above a mile, they saw a party of troopers in red passing by at some distance, and then they gave over their pursuit.

The troopers, observing my friend galloping and pursued, imagined he was some fanatic preacher, till they came to an old woman on a hill, whom my friend had desired to deny his being gone that way; upon which they went off to their quarters, and he got safe to Poddishaw's, whither I soon after arrived. The laird of Poddishaw had been that day at church; from whence, returning with the laird of Pocammock, who lived about a mile off, they both wondered how the horse got thither; for Pocammock was the owner of the horse, and his lady had rode on it that day to the conventicle, without her husband's knowledge, having been seduced thither by some fanatic neighbours, for she had never been at their meetings before. My friend and I acquainted the two lairds with the whole adventure of that day: and, after dinner, Pocammock requested to let him have the horse home, thereby to stifle any reflection his lady might bring upon him or herself, by going to a conventicle; he likewise invited us to dine next day at his house, where the horse should again be delivered to me, as justly forfeited by the folly of his wife. We went accordingly

with the laird of Poddishaw, and dined at Pocam-mock's, where the horse was ordered to be led out into the court, in the same accoutrements as I found him the day before: but observing the lady in tears, I told her that if she would give me her promise never to go to a conventicle again, I would bestow her the horse, and conceal what had passed; she readily complied, and so the matter was made up. However, the laird her husband assured me, that no horse in Scotland should be better paid for; and, being a leading man in the country, and his lady discovering the names of those who had been at the conventicle, he sent for them, and persuaded them, as they valued their quiet, to make up a purse for me and my friend, which they accordingly did; and we both lived plentifully, a twelvemonth after, on the price of that horse.

This adventure, making much noise at Edinburgh, was the occasion of my being sent for up thither by the marquis of Athol, my colonel, who, in a very friendly manner, expostulated with me upon my rashness; as indeed he had too much reason to do; neither was I able to say anything in my own justification. However, since what I had done discovered my loyalty for my prince, my zeal for the church, and my detestation of all rebellious principles, his lordship ever after gave me many marks of his friendship.

Accordingly, these services gave me such credit with the general, that he promised to apply to the government in my favour, for some preferment in the army upon the first opportunity, which happened about a year afterwards. For the seditious humours in the west still encreasing, it was thought proper, that three independent troops of horse, and as many dragoons, should be raised to suppress the rebels. Whereupon Mr Francis Stuart, grandson to the earl of Bothwell, a private gentleman in the horse guards like myself, and my intimate acquaintance, was sent for in haste by the general, because the council of

Scotland was then writing to the king, that his majesty would please to grant commissions to those persons, whose names were to be sent up to London that very night. Mr Stuart gave me notice of this : whereupon, although I was not sent for, I resolved to go up with him to Edinburgh, and solicit for myself. When I arrived there, and attended the general, his first question was in a humourous manner, "Wha the deel sent for you up?" I answered, that I hoped his excellency would now make good his promise of preferring me, since so fair an opportunity offered at present. On this occasion the general stood my firm friend, and although the sons and brothers of lords and baronets, and other persons of quality, solicited to be made lieutenants and cornets in these new raised troops, yet the general, in regard to my services, prevailed with the council, that I might be appointed lieutenant to Mr Stuart, who was then made captain of dragoons.

Soon after this, the archbishop of St Andrews was murdered by the laird of Hackston and Balfour, assisted by four poor weavers. Hackston, before this horrid action, was reputed an honest and gallant man ; but his friendship for his brother-in-law Balfour drew him in to commit this inhuman murder. Balfour, who had been the archbishop's chamberlain (for so in Scotland we call a great man's steward) whether by negligence or dishonesty, was short in his payments to his lord ; and the fear of being called to an account was a principal motive to assassinate his master : however, he pretended likewise a great zeal for the kirk, whereof he looked upon the archbishop as the greatest oppressor. It is certain, that the lower people mortally hated the archbishop, on pretence that his grace had deserted their communion : and the weavers, who were accomplices of Balfour, believed they did God service in destroying an enemy of the kirk ; and, accordingly, all the murderers were esteemed and styled saints by that rebellious faction

After the murder of the archbishop, several parties in the west took up arms, under the leading of Robert Hamilton, second son to sir William Hamilton of Preston, the unworthy son of a most worthy father: whereupon the council met, and sent for Graham, then laird of Clavers, afterwards created viscount Dundee by king James the seventh. This noble person was, at that time, captain of one of those independent troops of horse, which, as I have already mentioned, were raised before the murder of the archbishop. The council therefore ordered him to march with a detachment of one hundred and twenty dragoons, and a lieutenant, with his own troop, in pursuit of the rebels. Clavers was obliged not to open his commission until he came in sight of them. In his march he took Mas John King, one of their principal preachers. Clavers carried King along, until he came in sight of the enemy at Drumclog, eight miles from Hamilton. There the preacher was guarded by a dragoon-sentry, at a little cabin on the top of the hill, while Clavers, opening his commission, found himself commanded to fight the rebels, let their number be ever so great, with those hundred and twenty dragoons.

But before I proceed to tell the issue of this affair, I must digress a little upon the subject of Mas John King, above-mentioned. When I was in the guards, some time after I had missed Williamson at lady Cherrytree's house, the government hearing that this John King was beginning to hold his conventicles not far from Stirling, where the troop of horse then lay, ordered the commanding officer there to send a party out to take him, and bring him up to the council. I was pitched upon with a small detachment to perform this service. I went to my lord Cardross's house, to whose lady King was chaplain; there I took him, and delivered him to the council. This preacher had gotten the lady's woman with child, about four or five months before, and, it is supposed, had promised



her marriage, provided the lady would stand his friend in his present distress; whereupon she was so far his friend as to get him bailed, on her engaging he should hold no more conventicles. However, he went to the hills, and there preached the people to arms; and in several towns, as Kircudbright, Laneric, and Sanquhar in particular, in company with Cameron, set up declarations on the market-crosses against the king, whom he excommunicated, with all his adherents. Thus he continued till Clavers took him at Drumclog, as is above-mentioned, where he got off again, until I took him a third time, after the battle of Bothwell bridge, which shall be related in its proper place.

The rebels at Drumclog were eight or nine thousand strong; their leader, as I have said before, was Robert Hamilton, second brother to the loyal house of Preston, but a profligate, who had spent all his patrimony. There were likewise among them the lairds of Knockgray and Fruah, with many other gentlemen of fortune whose names I forgot. Clavers's men, with the addition of some few that came in to him, did not exceed one hundred and eighty; yet, pursuant to his orders, he was forced to fight the enemy; but, being so vastly outnumbered, was soon defeated, with the loss of cornet Robert Graham, and about eight or ten private troopers. The rebels finding the cornet's body, and supposing it to be that of Clavers, because the name of Graham was wrought in the shirt-neck, treated it with the utmost inhumanity, cutting off the nose, picking out the eyes, and stabbing it through in a hundred places.

Clavers, in his flight towards Hamilton and Glasgow, rode a horse that trailed his guts for two miles from the place where the engagement happened; but then overtaking his groom with some led horses, he mounted on one of them, and, with the remains of his small army, escaped to Glasgow. The rebels, pursuing as far as Hamilton, advanced that evening

within a mile of Glasgow, where they encamped all night. As Clavers was marching after his men up the hill, where he had left Mas John under the guard of a dragoon (who ran off with the first that fled), King, in a sneering way, desired him to stay and take his prisoner with him.

The rebels being thus encamped within a mile of Glasgow, Clavers commanded his men in the town to stand to their arms all night; and having barricaded the four streets, to prevent the rebels' horse from breaking in, ordered me, at sunrise, to march with six dragoons, and discover which way the rebels intended to come into the town. I must here observe that I, with captain Stuart's troop of dragoons and a battalion of the foot-guards, remained in Glasgow while Clavers marched to Drumclog, where he was defeated. But, to return, I followed the directions which were given me, and having discovered the enemy from a little eminence, I was ordered by Clavers, who came to me there, to watch at a small house, where the way divided, and see which of the roads they would take, or whether they separated and each party took a different way. I stayed until I saw them take two different roads; some by that from whence I came from the town, which was over the Gallowgate bridge, and the rest by the High Church and College, which was more than twice as far as the first party had to come, and consequently could not both meet at the same time within the town. This was a great advantage to Clavers and his little army. That party of the rebels which took Gallowgate bridge road, followed me close at the heels, as I returned to inform Clavers what course they took.

The broad street was immediately full of them, but advancing towards the barricade, before their fellows who followed the other road could arrive to their assistance, were valiantly received by Clavers and his men, who, firing on them at once, and jumping over the carts and cars that composed the barricade, chased

them out of the town, but were quickly forced to return and receive the other party, which, by that time, was marching down by the High Church and College, but when they came within pistol-shot were likewise fired upon and driven out of the town. In this action many of the rebels fell, but the king's party lost not so much as one man.

The townsmen, being too well affected to the rebels, concealed many of them in their houses; the rest, who escaped, met and drew up in a field behind the High Church, where they stayed until five in the afternoon (it being in the month of May), and from thence marched in a body to the same place where they were in the morning, about a mile off the town. Clavers and his men expecting they would make a second attack, and discovering by his spies whither they were gone, marched after them; but, upon sight of our forces, the rebels retired with a strong rear-guard of horse to Hamilton, whereupon Clavers returned and quartered that night in Glasgow.

Next morning the government sent orders to Clavers to leave Glasgow and march to Stirling, eighteen miles farther; and three days after he was commanded to bring up his party to Edinburgh. As soon as he quitted Glasgow the rebels returned, and having stayed in that town eight or ten days, encamped on Hamilton moor, within a mile of Bothwell bridge, where it was said that their numbers were increased to fourteen thousand; although bishop Burnett, in his 'History of his own Times,' most falsely and partially affirms, that they were not more than four thousand, or thereabouts.

The council, finding the rebels daily increasing in their number, gave information thereof to the king; whereupon his majesty sent down the duke of Monmouth, with a commission, to be commander-in-chief, and to take with him four troops of the English dragoons, which were quartered on the borders; but these, with the forces in Scotland, amounted not to

above three thousand. Upon the duke's being made commander-in-chief, general Dalziel refused to serve under him, and remained at his lodgings in Edinburgh, till his grace was superseded, which happened about a fortnight after.

The army was about four miles forward, on the road towards Hamilton, when the duke of Monmouth came up with his English dragoons, on Saturday the 21st of June: from thence the whole forces marched to the kirk of Shots, within four miles of the rebels, where they lay all night. The next morning he marched the army up an eminence, opposite to the main body of the enemy, who were encamped on the moor.

The general officers, the earl of Linlithgow, colonel of the foot-guards, the earl of Mar, colonel of a regiment of foot; Clavers, the earl of Hume, and the earl of Ayry, all captains of horse; the marquis of Montrose, colonel of the horse-guards (Athol having been discarded), Dalhousie, with many other noblemen and gentlemen volunteers, attending the duke together, desired his grace to let them know which way he designed to take to come at the enemy: the duke answered, it must be by Bothwell bridge. Now the bridge lay a short mile to the right of the king's army, was narrow, and guarded with three thousand of the rebels, and strongly barricadoed with great stones; but although the officers were desirous to have passed the river by easy fords, directly between them and the rebels, and to march to the main body on the moor, before those three thousand, who guarded the bridge, could come to assist them; yet the duke was obstinate, and would pass no other way than that of the bridge.

Pursuant to this preposterous and absurd resolution, he commanded captain Stuart, (whose lieutenant I was) with his troop of dragoons, and eighty musqueteers, together with four small field-pieces, under cover of the dragoons, to beat off the party at the

bridge: the duke himself, with David Lesly and Melvill, accompanied us, and ordered the field-pieces to be left at the village of Bothwell, within a musket shot of the bridge.

When the duke and his men came near the bridge, the rebels beat a parley, and sent over a laird, accompanied with a kirk preacher. The duke, asking what they came for? was answered, "That they would have the kirk established in the same manner as it stood at the king's restoration, and that every subject should be obliged to take the solemn league and covenant." The duke told them their demand could not be granted, but sent them back to tell their party, that if they would lay down their arms, and submit to the king's mercy, he would intercede for their pardon.

While this parley lasted, the field-pieces were brought down, and planted over against the bridge, without being perceived by the rebels. The messengers returned in a short time with this answer: "That they would not lay down their arms unless their conditions were granted them:" whereupon the dragoons and musqueteers fired all at once upon those who guarded the bridge, and the field-pieces played so warmly, that some hundreds of the rebels were slain; the rest flying to the main body on the moor.

The duke, as soon as he had commanded to fire, retired into a hollow from the enemy's shot (some say, by the persuasion of Lesly and Melvill) and continued there till the action was over. Then captain Stuart ordered the musqueteers to make way for the horse to pass the bridge, by casting the stones into the river, which had been placed there to obstruct the passage over it; but the army could not pass in less than five hours; and then marched up in order of battle towards the enemy, who waited for them on the moor, confiding in the great superiority of their number. Clavers commanded the horse on the right, and captain Stuart the dragoons on the left.

The field-pieces were carried in the centre of the foot guards, while the rest of the officers commanded at the head of their men ; and the duke, after the enemy was beaten from the bridge, rode at the head of the army.

Upon the first fire the rebels' horse turned about, and fled upon the right and left ; and although the duke ordered his men not to stir out of the ranks to pursue them, yet the army, not regarding his commands, followed the flying rebels, killing between seven and eight hundred, and taking fifteen hundred prisoners. Sir John Bell, provost of Glasgow, as soon as he saw the rebels fly, rode into the town ; from whence, in a few hours, he sent all the bread he could find, together with a hogshead of drink to each troop and company in the army, out of the cellars of such townsmen as were found to be abettors or protectors of the rebels.

The cruelty and presumption of that wicked and perverse generation will appear evident from a single instance. These rebels had set up a very large gallows in the middle of their camp, and prepared a cart full of new ropes at the foot of it, in order to hang up the king's soldiers, whom they already looked upon as vanquished, and at mercy ; and it happened that the pursuers in the royal army, returning back with their prisoners, chose the place where the gallows stood, to guard them at, without offering to hang one of them, which they justly deserved, and had so much reason to expect. The pursuers were no sooner returned, and the whole action over, than general Dalziel arrived at the camp from Edinburgh, with a commission renewed to be commander-in-chief, which he received that very morning by an express; This commander, having learned how the duke had conducted the war, told him publicly, and with great plainness, that he had betrayed the king, that he heartily wished his commission had come a day sooner ; for then, said he, " These rogues should

never have troubled his majesty or the kingdom any more."

Thus the duke was at the same time superseded, and publicly rebuked before all the army; yet his grace forgot his dignity so far, as to sneak among them at the town of Bothwell (where the forces encamped) until the Saturday following, when the army was to march back to Glasgow, from whence, in two or three days, they were sent to their several quarters; after which the duke of Monmouth passed by Stirling to Fife to visit the duke of Rothes.

The same evening, after the rout on the moor, the prisoners were sent with a strong guard towards Edinburgh. On Saturday morning, when the army was to march to Glasgow, I desired the general's leave to go with twelve dragoons in search of some of the rebels, who might probably pass the Clyde about Dumbarton, to shelter themselves in the Highlands. With these dragoons, clad in grey coats and bonnets, I made haste down the side of the river; and about midnight, after travelling twenty four miles, I came to a church, and while the soldiers stayed to refresh their horses in the church-yard, I spied a country fellow going by, and asked him in his own dialect, "Whither gang ye this time of night?" He answered, "Wha are ye that speers?" I replied, "We are your ane folk:" upon this the fellow came up, and told me, there were eighteen friends, with horses, at an old castle, waiting for a boat to pass over into the isle of Arran. I mounted the man behind one of my dragoons, and went towards the place: but the rebels, not finding a boat, were gone off, and the guide dismissed. There was a great dew on the grass, which directed me and my party to follow the track of their horses for three or four miles till the dew was gone off. I then enquired of a cow-herd on a hill, whether he saw any of our poor folk travelling that way? He answered, that they had separated on

that hill, and gone three several ways, six in a party; adding, that in one party there was "a bra muckle kerl, with a white hat on him, and a great bob of ribbons on the cock o't." Whereupon I sent four of my dragoons after one party, four more after another; and myself, with the remaining four, went in pursuit of him with the white hat. As I went forward, I met another cow-herd, who told me, that the fellow with the hat, and one more (for as the rogues advanced farther into the west, they still divided into smaller parties) were just gone down the hill, to his master's house. The good man of the house, returning from putting the horses to grass in the garden, was going to shut the door; whereupon myself and two of the dragoons commanded him, with our pistols at his breast, to lead us to the room where the man lay who wore a white hat. We entered the room, and before he awaked, I took away his arms, and commanded him to dress immediately: then finding his companion asleep in the barn, I forced him likewise to arise, and mounting them both on their horses, came at nine o'clock in the morning, with my two prisoners, to the other dragoons, at the place where we appointed to meet. From thence we rode straight to Glasgow, and arrived thither about eight in the evening, after a journey of fifty miles, since we left the army at Bothwell the day before.

This was upon a Sunday, and although we met with many hundreds of people on the road, yet we travelled on to Glasgow without any opposition. I must here inform the reader, that although I had once before taken this very man, who wore the white hat, yet I did not know him to be Mas John King already mentioned, until I was told so by the man of the house where I found him. I likewise forgot to mention, that King, who knew me well enough, as soon as he was taken in the house, entreated me to shew him some favour, because he had married a



woman of my name : I answered, " that is true, but first you got her with bairn, and should therefore now pay for disgracing one of my name."

When we arrived near Glasgow, I sent a dragoon to inform the general that Mas John King was coming to kiss his hand ; whereupon his excellency, accompanied with all the noblemen and officers, advanced as far as the bridge, to welcome me and my prisoners ; where it is very observable that Graham, laird of Clavers, who came among the rest, made not the least reproach to Mas John, in return of his insolent behaviour, when that commander fled from Drumclog. Mas John was sent to Edinburgh next morning under a guard, and hanged soon after. From hence I went to my quarters in Laneric, sixteen miles from Glasgow ; and about a month after (I hope the reader will excuse my weakness) I happened to dream that I found one Wilson, a captain among the rebels at Bothwell bridge, in a bank of wood, upon the river Clyde. This accident made so strong an impression on my mind, that as soon as I awaked, I took six and thirty dragoons, and got to the place by break of day ; then I caused some of them to alight, and go into the wood, and set him up as hounds do a hare, whilst the rest were ordered to stand sentry to prevent his escape. It seems I dreamed fortunately, for Wilson was actually in the wood, with five more of his company, as we afterwards learned ; who all seeing me and my party advancing, hid themselves in a little island on the river, among the broom that grew upon it. Wilson had not the good fortune to escape ; for as he was trying to get out of one copse into another, I met him, and guessing by his good clothes, and by the description I had received of him before, that he was the man I looked for, I seized and brought him to my quarters, and from thence immediately conveyed him to Edinburgh, where he was hanged ; but might have preserved his life, if he would have condescended only to say, " God save the king." This he utterly refused to do,

and thereby lost not only his life, but likewise an estate, worth twenty-nine thousand marks Scots.

For this service, the duke of Queensberry, then high commissioner of Scotland, recommended me to the king, who rewarded me with a gift of Wilson's estate; but although the grant passed the seals, and the sheriff put me in possession, yet I could neither sell it nor let it; nobody daring, for fear of the rebels who had escaped at Bothwell bridge, either to purchase or farm it; by which means I never got a penny by the grant; and at the revolution, the land was taken from me and restored to Wilson's heirs.

The winter following, general Dalziel, with a battalion of the earl of Linlithgow's guards, the earl of Ayrly's troop of horse, and captain Stuart's troop of dragoons, quartered at Kilmarnock, in the west, fifty miles from Edinburgh. Here the general, one day, happening to look on while I was exercising the troop of dragoons, asked me when I had done, whether I knew any of my men, who was skilful in praying well in the style and tone of the Covenanters? I immediately thought upon one James Gibb, who had been born in Ireland, and whom I made a dragoon. This man I brought to the general, assuring his excellency, that if I had raked hell I could not find his match for his skill in mimicking the Covenanters. Whereupon the general gave him five pounds, to buy him a great coat and a bonnet, and commanded him to find out the rebels, but to be sure to take care of himself among them. The dragoon went eight miles off that very night, got admittance to the house of a notorious rebel, pretending he came from Ireland out of zeal for the cause, to assist at the fight of Bothwell bridge, and could not find any opportunity since of returning to Ireland with safety; he said he durst not be seen in the day time, and therefore, after bewitching the family with his gifts of praying, he was conveyed in the dusk of the evening, with a guide, to the house of the next adjoining rebel; and thus, in the same manner from

one to another, till in a month's time he got through the principal of them in the west; telling the general, at his return, that wherever he came, he made the old wives, in their devout fits, tear off their biggonets and mutches. He likewise gave the general a list of their names and places of their abodes, and into the bargain brought back a good purse of money in his pocket. The general desired to know how he had prayed amongst them; he answered, that it was his custom in his prayers to send the king, the ministers of state, the officers of the army, with all their soldiers, and the episcopal clergy, all broad-side to hell; but particularly the general himself: "What," said the general, "did you send me to hell, sir?"—"Yea," replied the dragoon, "you at the head of them as their leader."

And here I do solemnly aver, upon my veracity and knowledge, that bishop Burnet, in the 'History of his Own Times,' hath, in a most false and scandalous manner, misrepresented the action at Bothwell bridge, and the behaviour of the episcopal clergy in Scotland; for, as to the former, I was present in that engagement, which was performed in the manner I have related; and as to the latter, having travelled through most parts of that kingdom, particularly the north and west, I was well acquainted with them, and will take it to my death, that the reverse of this character, which Burnet gives of both, is the truth. And because that author is so unjust to the episcopal clergy, and so partial to the Covenanters and their teachers, I do affirm that I have known several among the latter sort guilty of those very vices wherewith this bishop brands the episcopal clergy. Among many others I will produce one instance, rather to divert the reader than from any obloquy. One of those eight fanatic teachers, who were permitted at the restoration to keep their livings, came to sir John Carmichael's house, within a mile of Laneric, where I was then upon a visit to sir John. We drank hard.

till it was late, and all the company retired, except sir John and myself. The teacher would needs give us prayers, but fell asleep before he had half done; whereupon sir John and I, setting a bottle and glass at his nose, left him on his knees. The poor man sneaked off early the next morning, being, in all appearance, ashamed of his hypocrisy.

To return from this digression. The general sent out several parties, and me with a party among the rest; where, during the winter and the following spring, I secured many of those whose names and abodes the canting dragoon had given a list of.

In July following, the general, by order of council, commanded me to go with a detachment of thirty horse and fifty dragoons in pursuit of about one hundred and fifty rebels, who had escaped at Bothwell bridge, and ever since kept together in a body, up and down in Galloway. I followed them for five or six days from one place to another; after which, on the 22d of July, they stayed for me at Air's moss, situate in the shire of Air, near the town of Cumlock. The moss is four miles long from east to west, and two broad. The rebels drew up at the east end, and consisted of thirty horse and one hundred and twenty foot. I faced them upon a rising ground with my thirty horse and fifty dragoons. The reason why the rebels chose this place to fight on, rather than a plain field, was for fear their horse might desert the foot, as they did on Hamilton moor, near Bothwell bridge; and likewise that, in case they lost the day, they might save themselves by retreating into the moss.

I placed myself on the left, as judging that the best officer would command on the right. The action began about five in the afternoon, but lasted not long; for I ordered my men first to receive the enemy's fire, then to ride down the hill upon them, and use their broadswords. They did so, and before the enemy had time to draw theirs, cut many of them down in an instant; whereupon they wheeled about, and cap-

tain Fowler, who commanded the rebels on the right, being then in the rear, advancing up to me, I gave him such a blow over the head with my broadsword, as would have cleaved his skull, had it not been defended by a steel cap. Fowler, turning about, aimed a blow at me, but I warded it off, and with a back stroke cut the upper part of his head clean off, from the nose upwards.

By this time the rebels, leaving their horses, fled to the moss; but the royalists pursuing them, killed about sixty, and took fourteen prisoners. Here Cameron, the famous Covenanter, lost his life; and Haxton was taken prisoner, infamous for imbruing his hands in the blood of the archbishop of St Andrews, as I have already mentioned; for which parricide both his hands were afterwards cut off, and he was hanged at Edinburgh.

But this victory cost me very dear; for being then in the rear, I rode into the moss after the rebels, where I overtook a dozen of them, hacking and hewing one of my men, whose horse was bogged; his name was Elliot, a stout soldier and one of Clavers's troop. He had several wounds, and was at the point of being killed, when I came to his relief. I shot one of the rogues dead with my carbine, which obliged the rest to let the poor man and his horse creep out of the hole; but at the same time drew all their fury upon myself; for Elliot made a shift to crawl out of the moss, leading his horse in his hand, but was wholly disabled from assisting his deliverer, and was not regarded by his enemies, who probably thought he was mortally wounded, or indeed rather that they had no time to mind him, for I laid about me so fast, that they judged it best to keep off, and not venture within my reach, till it unfortunately happened that my horse slipped in the same hole out of which Elliot and his had just got. When they had me at this advantage, they began to shew their courage, and manfully dealt their blows with their broadswords, from

some of which the carbine that hung down my back defended me a little. As I was paddling in the hole, the horse not able to get out, one of the rebels ran me through the small of the back with his broadsword, and at the same instant two more wounded me under the ribs with their small ones. Then I threw myself over the head of my horse, taking the far pistol out of the holster in my left hand, and holding my broadsword in my right; and as one of the villains was coming hastily up to me, his foot slipped, and before he could recover himself, I struck my sword into his skull; but the fellow, being big and heavy, snapped it asunder as he fell, within a span of the hilt. The rebels had me now at a great advantage; one of them made a stroke at me, which I warded off with the hilt of the sword that was left in my hand; but the force with which he struck the blow, and I kept it off, brought us both to the ground. However, I got up before him, clapped my pistol to his side, and shot him dead. As soon as this was done, another came behind me, and with some weapon or other, struck me such a blow on the head, as laid me flat on my back, in which posture I remained a good while insensible. The rogues taking it for granted that I was dead, scoured off, fearing that by this time some of my men were returning back from the pursuit.

After some time I a little recovered my senses, and strove to lift myself up, which one of the rogues happening to see at some distance, immediately returned, and said in my hearing, "God, the dog is not dead yet!" Then coming up to me, took his sword, and putting its hilt to his breast, and guiding it with both his hands, made a thrust at my belly; but my senses were now so far recovered, that I parried the thrust with a piece of the sword which remained still in my hand. The fellow, when he missed his aim, almost fell on his face; for the sword ran up to the hilt in the moss; and as he was recovering himself, I gave him a dab in the mouth with my broken

sword, which very much hurt him; but he aiming a second thrust, which I had likewise the good fortune to put by, and having as before given him another dab in the mouth, he immediately went off for fear of the pursuers, whereof many were now returning.

In this distress, I made a shift with much difficulty and pain to get upon my feet; but my right leg being disabled by the wound I received from the broad sword, I was forced to limp by the help of the carbine, which I made use of as a staff. I had lost my horse; for one of the rogues, when I had quitted him in the hole, led him away through the moss. I recovered him about a year after from the man to whom the rebel had sold him; and the said rebel, when he was at the gallows, confessed himself to be the same man who took away the horse at Airs moss.

There was a Lancashire gentleman, one Mr Parker, who came volunteer to Airs moss, with intent, as he expressed himself, "to see the sport." This gentleman, riding on my right hand, at the time when we received the enemy's fire in the beginning of the action, was shot with a blunderbuss under the left shoulder. The wound was so large that a man might thrust his fist into it: yet when I desired him to fall back, and take care of his wound, he answered me, that he would first have his penny-worth out of the rogues, and accordingly followed us on horseback into the moss, as far as the horse could go without bogging. But by that time his wound so grievously pained him, with some other cuts he got in the pursuit, that he was forced to alight and sit on a dry spot of ground which he found in the moss, from whence he saw all that happened to me, without being able to come to my assistance, any more than Elliot, who, having gotten to a rising ground, saw likewise all that had passed. However, Mr Parker, as I came limping towards him, could not forbear laughing, and said, "What a plague! have you got your bones well

paid too?" Then both of us made a shift to get up to Elliot on the rising ground.

The trumpeter being by this time returned with some others from the pursuit, was ordered to sound a call, which brought all the rest back, with the fourteen prisoners, and Haxton among the rest, who was that day commander-in-chief among the rebels. Of the king's party but two were killed, Mr Andrew Ker, a gentleman of Clavers's own troop, and one M' Kabe, a dragoon in captain Stuart's troop, where I was lieutenant. The wounded were about eight or nine, besides Parker and Elliot. Elliot died the next day: he, Ker, and M' Kabe, were honourably buried by Mr Brown, a gentleman who lived hard by, to whose house their bodies were carried after the fight at the moss. An English lady, living about eight miles off, took care of Mr Parker, but he died at her house a year after, of his wounds, very much lamented on account of his loyalty and valour.

When the fight was over, night coming on, I ordered all my men, except twelve dragoons, whom I kept to attend myself, to march with the prisoners, and those who were wounded, to Douglas, fourteen miles off, and to carry along with them Cameron's head. In the meantime, I and my party of dragoons went that night, sixteen long miles to Laneric, where the general and all the foot quartered, as well to acquaint him with what had been done, as to have my own wounds taken care of. I sent one of my dragoons before me with my message; whereupon the general himself, although it was after midnight, accompanied with the earls of Linlithgow, Mar, Ross, Hume, and the lord Dalhousie, came out to meet me at the gate. Dalhousie forced me to lodge in his own chamber, to which I was accordingly carried by two of the dragoons. After my wounds had been dressed in the presence of this noble company, who stood round about me, being very thirsty through the loss of blood, I drank the king's health, and the com-



pany's, in a large glass of wine and water, and then was laid in Dalhousie's own bed.

Next day the general leaving Laneric, with the forces under his command, ordered a troop of horse and another of dragoons to attend me, till I should be able to travel up to Edinburgh for the better conveniency of physicians and surgeons. My wounds did not confine me to my bed, and in a month's time I went to Edinburgh on horseback by easy stages, where I continued till Candlemas following, lingering of the wound I had received by the broadsword. My surgeon was the son of the same Dr Irvin who first got me into the guards; but having unfortunately neglected to tie a string to the tent of green cloth which he used for the wound, the tent slipped into my body, where it lay under my navel seven months and five days, and exceedingly pained me, not suffering me to sleep, otherwise than by taking soporiferous pills. When the tent was first missing, neither the surgeon nor anybody else ever imagined that it was lodged in my body, but supposed it to have slipt out of the wound while I slept, and carried away by some rat, or other vermin: the tent lying thus in my body made it impossible that the wound could heal; wherefore, after lingering seven months, by the advice of a gentlewoman in the neighbourhood, I got leave to go to Ireland with my surgeon, and there try whether my native air would contribute anything to my cure.

However insignificant this relation may be to the generality of readers, yet I cannot omit a lucky accident to which I owe my cure. While I continued at Edinburgh, I ordered some pipes of lead to be made in a mould, through which the thin corruption which continually issued out of the wound, caused by the tent remaining in my body, might be conveyed as through a fosset. These pipes I cut shorter by degrees, in proportion as I imagined the wound was healing at the bottom; till at last, by mistaking the true cause, the tent continuing still where it did, the pipes be-

came too short for the use intended ; wherefore, when I was in Ireland, I made a coarse pipe, myself, which was long enough : this pipe, after the wound was washed with brandy, always remained in my body till the next dressing ; but being made without art, and somewhat jagged at the end, it happened one morning, when the pipe was drawn out as usual, in order to have the wound washed, the tent followed, to the great surprise of my father, who at that time was going to dress the wound ; my surgeon being then at Castle Irvin, where I had left him with his brother Dr Irvin, at sir Gerard Irvin's house ; the same gentleman was delivered out of Derry gaol by my father, as I have related in the beginning of these memoirs.

The night before the tent was drawn out of my body, having not slept a wink, I thought myself in the morning somewhat feverish, and therefore desired my father to send for Dr Lindsey, to let me blood. In the meantime, slumbering a little, I dreamed that the covenanters were coming to cut my throat ; under this apprehension I awakened, and found my neighbour, captain Saunderson, in my chamber, who was come to visit me. I then called for my father to dress my wound ; when the tent followed the pipe, as I have already said, to my great joy, for then I knew I should soon be well. I therefore ordered my horse to be got ready, and rode out with captain Saunderson and my father, to meet Dr Lindsey, who, hearing the joyful news, carried us to a gentleman's house, where we drank very heartily. Then I returned home, and slept almost twenty-four hours. Two days after, Dr Irvin, and his brother the surgeon, came to my father's house, where the doctor being informed in the circumstances of my cure, severely chid his brother for his neglect, swearing he had a mind to shoot him ; and that, if I had died, my blood would have been charged on his head. He then ordered me a remedy, which would then heal up the wound

in twenty days. This fell out in the beginning of May, at which time, taking leave of my father and other friends in Ireland, I returned to Edinburgh, where, before the end of that month, my wound was perfectly healed up; but I was never afterwards so able to bear fatigues as I had hitherto been.

The duke of York was arrived at Edinburgh the Michaelmas before, where the general, from the time he left Laneric in July, continued with the guards; the rest of the forces quartering up and down in other places. The general, after my arrival, coming every day to see me in his way as he went to the duke's court, did me the honour to mention me and my services to his royal highness, who was desirous to see me; I was admitted to kiss his hand, and ordered to sit down, in regard to my honourable wounds, which would not suffer me to stand without great pain. I cannot conceal this mark of favour and distinction shewn me by a great prince, although I am very sensible it will be imputed to vanity. I must remember likewise that, upon my return to Edinburgh, happening to overtake the general in the street, and gently touching him, his excellency, turning in a great surprise, cried out, "O God, man, are you living?" I answered, that I was, and hoped to do the king and his excellency farther service.

After I had continued a month with my friends in Edinburgh, who all congratulated with me upon my recovery, I repaired to the troop at Laneric, where I often ranged with a party through the west, to find out the straggling remains of the covenanting rebels, but for some time without success, till a week before Christmas, after the duke of York succeeded to the crown, and a year and a half after I was cured. Having drank hard one night, I dreamed that I had found captain David Steele, a notorious rebel, in one of the five farmers' houses on a mountain in the shire of Clydesdale, and parish of Lismahago, within eight miles of Hamilton, a place that I was well acquainted

with. This man was head of the rebels since the affair of Airs moss, having succeeded to Haxton, who had been there taken, and afterwards hanged, as the reader has already heard. For as to Robert Hamilton, who was their commander-in-chief at Bothwell bridge, he appeared no more among them, but fled, as it was believed, to Holland.

Steele, and his father before him, held a farm in the estate of Hamilton, within two or three miles of that town. When he betook himself to arms the farm lay waste, and the duke could find no other person who would venture to take it; whereupon his grace sent several messengers to Steele, to know the reason why he kept the farm waste. The duke received no other answer, than that he would keep it waste in spite of him and the king too: whereupon his grace, at whose table I had always the honour to be a welcome guest, desired I would use my endeavours to destroy that rogue, and I would oblige him for ever.

I must here take leave to inform the reader, that the duke of Hamilton's friendship for me was founded upon the many services he knew I had done the public, as well as upon the relation I bore to sir Gerard Irvin, the person whom, of all the world, his grace most loved and esteemed, ever since the time they had served in arms together for the king in the Highlands, with my lord Glencairn, and sir Arthur Forbes (father to the present earl of Granard), after the king's defeat at Worcester, during the time of the usurpation.

To return therefore to my story: when I awaked out of my dream, as I had done before in the affair of Wilson (and I desire the same apology I made in the introduction to these memoirs may serve for both), I presently rose and ordered thirty-six dragoons to be at the place appointed by break of day. When we arrived thither, I sent a party to each of the five farmers' houses. This villain Steele had murdered

above forty of the king's subjects in cold blood; and, as I was informed, had often laid snares to entrap me; but it happened, that although he usually kept a gang to attend him, yet at this time he had none, when he stood in the greatest need. One of my party found him in one of the farmers' houses, just as I happened to dream. The dragoons first searched all the rooms below, without success, till two of them (hearing somebody stirring over their heads) went up a pair of turnpike stairs. Steele had put on his clothes while the search was making below; the chamber where he lay was called the chamber of Deese, which is the name given to a room where the laird lies when he comes to a tenant's house. Steele, suddenly opening the door, fired a blunderbuss down at the two dragoons as they were coming up the stairs; but the bullets, grazing against the side of the turnpike, only wounded and did not kill them. Then Steele violently threw himself down the stairs among them, and made towards the door to save his life, but lost it upon the spot; for the dragoons who guarded the house dispatched him with their broad swords. I was not with the party when he was killed, being at that time employed in searching at one of the other four houses; but I soon found what had happened, by hearing the noise of the shot made with the blunderbuss. From hence I returned strait to Laneric, and immediately sent one of the dragoons express to general Drummond at Edinburgh.

General Dalziel died about Michaelmas this year, and was succeeded by lieutenant-general Drummond, who was likewise my very good friend.

But I cannot here let pass the death of so brave and loyal a commander as general Dalziel, without giving the reader some account of him, as far as my knowledge or inquiry can reach.

Thomas Dalziel, among many other officers, was taken prisoner at the unfortunate defeat at Worcester, and sent to the Tower; from whence, I know not by

what means, he made his escape, and went to Muscovy, where the czar then reigning made him his general; but some time after the restoration of the royal family he gave up his commission, and repairing to king Charles the second, was, in consideration of his eminent services, constituted commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in Scotland; in which post he continued till his death, excepting only one fortnight, when he was superseded by the duke of Monmouth, some days before the action at Bothwell bridge, as I have already related. He was bred up very hardy from his youth, both in diet and clothing. He never wore boots, nor above one coat, which was close to his body, with close sleeves, like those we call jockey coats. He never wore a peruke, nor did he shave his beard since the murder of king Charles the first. In my time his head was bald, which he covered only with a beaver hat, the brim of which was not above three inches broad. His beard was white and bushy, and yet reached down almost to his girdle. He usually went to London once or twice in a year, and then only to kiss the king's hand, who had a great esteem for his worth and valour. His unusual dress and figure, when he was in London, never failed to draw after him a great crowd of boys and other young people, who constantly attended at his lodgings, and followed him with huzzas as he went to court or returned from it. As he was a man of humour, he would always thank them for their civilities, when he left them at the door to go in to the king; and would let them know exactly at what hour he intended to come out again and return to his lodgings. When the king walked in the park, attended by some of his courtiers, and Dalziel in his company, the same crowds would always be after him, shewing their admiration at his beard and dress, so that the king could hardly pass on for the crowd; upon which his majesty bid the devil take Dalziel, for bringing such a rabble of boys together to have their guts squeezed out, whilst

they gaped at his long beard and antic habit; requesting him at the same time (as Dalziel used to express it) to shave and dress like other Christians, to keep the poor bairns out of danger. All this could never prevail on him to part with his beard; but yet, in compliance to his majesty, he went once to court in the very height of the fashion; but as soon as the king and those about him had laughed sufficiently at the strange figure he made, he reassumed his usual habit, to the great joy of the boys, who had not discovered him in his fashionable dress.

When the duke of York succeeded to the crown, general Dalziel was resolved still to retain his loyalty; although, at the same time, he often told his friends that all things were going wrong at court: but death came very seasonably to rescue him from the difficulties he was likely to be under, between the notions he had of duty to his prince on one side, and true zeal for his religion on the other.

I must now resume a little my discourse upon captain Steele. Some time before the action in which he was killed, general Drummond, who was then newly made commander-in-chief, sent for me in haste, to attend him in Edinburgh: my way lay through a very strong pass hard by Airs moss, and within a mile of Cumlock. As I was going through Cumlock, a friend there told me that Steele, with a party, waited for me at the pass. I had with me only one dragoon and a drummer: I ordered the latter to gallop on straight to the pass, and when he got thither, to beat a dragoon march, while I with the dragoon should ride along the bye-path on the edge of the moss. When Steele and his men heard the drum, they scoured cross the bye-path into the moss, apprehending that a strong party was coming in search of them. But either I or the dragoon (I forget which) shot one of the rebels dead, as he crossed us to get into the moss. To put an end to this business of Steele: when the dragoon, whom I sent express, had

delivered his message to general Drummond, he was just setting out for his country house at Dumblain, but returned to his lodgings, and wrote me a letter that he would send for me up after the holidays, and recommend me to government, to reward me for my services. He faithfully kept his word, but I received nothing more than promises.

Steele was buried in the church-yard of Lismahego, by some of his friends; who, after the revolution, erected a fair monument, on pillars, over his grave, and caused an epitaph to be engraved on the stone, in words to this effect:—

“ Here lieth the body of captain David Steele, a saint, who was murdered by John Creighton ”—(with the date underneath).

Some of my friends burlesqued this epitaph, in the following manner:—

“ Here lies the body of saint Steele,  
“ Murdered by John Creighton, that dee'l.”

Duke Hamilton, in queen Ann's time, informed me of this honour done to that infamous rebel; and when I had said to his grace that I wished he had ordered his footmen to demolish the monument, the duke answered, he would not have done so for five hundred pounds, because it would be an honour to me as long as it lasted.

The last summer, about the end of May, if I remember right (and I desire to be excused for not always relating things in the order when they happened), the marquis of Argyle, after having escaped out of the castle of Edinburgh into Holland, returned to invade Scotland, to support the duke of Monmouth's pretensions to the crown, as was generally believed. He landed in his own country in the Highlands, with a party of Dutch, and some Scottish gentlemen who had fled for treason; among whom sir John Cochran was of the greatest note. Whereupon the government ordered the marquis of Athol and Mr Ewen Cameron, laird of Lochiel, to raise their clans, and



march with their party against Argyle. They did so, and in the evening pitched their camp close by him. Here, in the night, Cameron, patrolling with a party, met another of his own men, and taking them for enemies, because they had lost the word in their cups, killed eight or nine: among whom two or three happened to be persons of note. The friends of those who were killed resolving, if possible, to have him hanged, he was obliged to ride post to the king. He went to his majesty in the dress he had travelled in; and the king, being already informed how the accident happened, instead of suffering him to tell his story, commanded him to draw his broad-sword, intending to knight him therewith; but Cameron could not draw it, because the scabbard had got wet on the way. The king, observing the confusion he was in, said, he knew the reason that kept the sword in the sheath; adding, that he never failed to draw it in the services of his father, his brother, and himself; whereupon he was knighted with another sword, with the title of sir Ewen Cameron. He returned to Edinburgh, and from thence went as a volunteer to serve in the standing army, which was then moving towards the coast of Galloway, to prevent Argyle from landing. For, upon the opposition he found from the marquis of Athol and his men, with their assistance in the Highlands, he shipped his forces, and sailed round the west, hoping to land there. But the army moving along the coast, always in sight of him, compelled him to return the way he came, until he landed in his own country again. From thence, after gathering what supplies of men he could, he marched, and encamped in the evening within two or three miles of Glasgow. But the king's army having sent out scouts to discover what way he took, encamped over against him the same evening on an eminence, there being a bog between both armies.

The king's forces consisted of the earl of Linlithgow's regiment of foot-guards, the earl of Mar's of

foot, Clavers's of horse, Dunmore's of dragoons, Buchan's of foot, and Levingston's of horse-guards, with some gentlemen of quality, volunteers; among whom the earl of Dumbarton was of the greatest note.

Here the two armies lay in sight of each other; but, before morning, Argyle was gone, his Highlanders having deserted him; and then the king's army went to refresh themselves at Glasgow, waiting till it could be known which way Argyle had fled. It was soon understood that he had crossed the Clyde at Kilpatrick; and that sir John Cochran lay with a party, in a stone-dyke park, about ten miles off. The lord Ross was therefore dispatched with a party of horse, and captain Cleland, who was now my captain (my friend Stuart being dead), with another of dragoons, to find them out: when they came up to the park where sir John Cochran lay with his Dutch, they fired at one another, and some of the king's soldiers fell, among whom captain Cleland was one; whereupon the troop was given to sir Adam Blair (who was likewise wounded in that rash engagement) although, upon duke Hamilton's application to the king, I had been promised to succeed Cleland. But sir Adam and secretary Melford being brothers-in-law, that interest prevailed.

I must desire the reader's pardon for so frequently interspersing my own private affairs with those of the public; but what I chiefly proposed was, to write my own memoirs, and not a history of the times farther than I was concerned in them.

Night coming on, the king's party withdrew, leaving sir John Cochran in the park, who, notwithstanding this little success, desired his followers to shift for themselves, and left them before morning. Argyle next evening was found alone, a mile above Greenock, at the water side, endeavouring to get into a little boat, and grappling with the owner thereof (a poor weaver). It seems he wanted presence of mind to engage the man with a piece of money, to set him on the other

side. In theme antime, sir John Shaw, riding with some gentlemen to Greenock, and seeing the struggle, seized the earl, and carried him to Glasgow, from whence he was sent with a strong guard to Edinburgh, and some time after beheaded.

The next day the army marched towards the borders against the duke of Monmouth; but, an express arriving of his defeat, the troops were commanded to repair to their several quarters.

I shall here occasionally relate an unfortunate accident which happened this summer in Scotland.

Macdonald, laird of Cappagh, in the Highlands, within eight miles of Inverlochy, was unjustly possessed, as most men believed, for many years, of an estate, which in right belonged to the laird of Mackintosh. Both these gentlemen were well affected to the king. The laird of Cappagh, after sowing-time was over, had gone that summer, as it was his custom, to make merry with his clans on the mountains, till the time of harvest should call him home. But in his absence, Mackintosh and his clans, assisted with a party of the army, by order from the government, possessed himself of Cappagh's estate; whereupon Macdonald and his clans, returning from the mountains, set upon the enemy, killed several gentlemen among them, and took Mackintosh himself prisoner. Macdonald had given strict orders to his men not to kill any of the army. But captain Mackenzie, who commanded on the other side, making a shot at one of Macdonald's men who was pursuing his adversary, the man, discharging his pistol at the captain, shot him in the knee, who, after having been carried fifty miles to Inverness to a surgeon, died of his wound.

Soon after, the government ordered me to detach sixty dragoons, with a lieutenant, cornet, and standard, and to march with captain Streighton and two hundred of the foot guards against the Macdonalds, to destroy man, woman, and child, pertaining to the laird of Cappagh, and to burn his houses and corn.

Upon the approach of our party, Macdonald, laird of Cappagh, dismissing his prisoners, retired farther into the mountains; whereupon we, who were sent against him, continued to destroy all the houses and corn, from the time of Lammas to the 10th of September; and then we advanced towards the borders to join the Scotch army, which at that time was marching towards England against the prince of Orange, who then intended an invasion. We arrived thither the 1st of October, after a march of two hundred miles.

General Drummond being then dead, James Douglas, brother to the duke of Queensberry, succeeded him as commander in chief; and Graham, laird of Clavers (about this time created lord Dundee), was major-general. On the 1st of October, the army passed the Tweed, and drew up on the banks on the English side, where the general gave a strict charge to the officers, that they should keep their men from offering the least injury in their march; adding, that if he heard any of the English complain, the officers should answer for the faults of their men; and so they arrived at Carlisle that night.

Next day, general Douglas, by order from the king, marched the foot by Chester towards London; and Dundee, the horse, by York; to which city he arrived in four or five days. The army did not reach London till about the 25th of October, being ordered, by the contrivance of Douglas, the general, to march slow, on purpose that the prince of Orange might land before the king's forces should grow strong enough to oppose him.

The Scotch army at this time consisted of four regiments of foot, one of horse, one of dragoons, one troop of horse-guards; and it was computed that the earl of Feversham, who was the general of all the king's forces, had under his command, of English, Scotch, and Irish, an army of near thirty thousand men. Soon after the prince's landing, the king went to Salisbury, with a guard of two hundred horse com-

manded by the old earl of Airly, two days before the body of the army came up to him. The earl of Airly, when he was lord Ogleby, had attended the great marquis of Montrose in all his actions for king Charles the first and second. But at this time being old, it was reported that he was dead, before the Scotch forces went into England to oppose the prince of Orange; whereupon the king, believing the report, had given his troop in Dundee's regiment to the earl of Anandale. But the earl, having overtaken the army at Cambridge in their march, went on to London, and there, presenting himself before the king, his majesty was so just and gracious, that he immediately restored his lordship to the troop, ordering him, at the same time, to command those two hundred men who attended him down to Salisbury.

When all the forces were arrived at Salisbury, the earl of Dunmore, with his regiment of dragoons (wherein I served) was ordered to a pass three miles below the city, where I commanded the guard that night.

The same morning that the army arrived, the great men about the king, as the lord Churchill, &c. to the number of thirty, advised his majesty to take the air on horseback, intending, as the earl of Dunmore was informed, to give up their master to the prince; but the king, probably suspecting the design, returned in haste to the city. Next night, at a council of war, called to consult what was fittest to be done in the present juncture of affairs, the very same great men swore to stand by his majesty with their lives and fortunes; and, as soon as he was gone to rest, mounting on horseback, they all went over to the prince, except the earls of Feversham, Dumbarton, and a very few more: for the earl of Dumbarton going to his majesty for orders, at four of the clock in the morning, found they were all departed.

Those few who stayed with the king, advised his majesty to return immediately to London; and the lord

Dundee was ordered to bring up the Scotch horse and dragoons with the duke of Berwick's regiment of horse, to Reading, where he joined Dumbarton with his forces, and continued there nine or ten days. They were in all about ten thousand strong. General Douglas, with his regiment of foot-guards, passing by Reading, lay at Maidenhead; from whence one of his battalions revolted to the prince, under the conduct only of a corporal, whose name was Kemp. However, Douglas assured the king that this defection happened against his will; and yet, when the officers were ready to fire upon the deserters, his compassion was such that he would not permit them.

After this, the earl of Dumbarton and the lord Dundee, with all the officers who adhered to the king, were ordered to meet his majesty at Uxbridge, where he designed to fight the prince. The earl of Feversham got thither before the king and the army arrived. When the forces drew together, every party sent an officer to the earl of Feversham to receive his commands. I attended his lordship from my lord Dundee, and was ordered with the rest to wait till the king came to dinner, his majesty being expected within half an hour. But it fell out otherwise: for the earl, to his great surprise, received a letter from the king, signifying that his majesty was gone off, and had no farther service for the army. When I carried this news to my lord Dundee, neither his lordship nor the lords Linlithgow and Dunmore could forbear falling into tears. After which, being at a loss what course to take, I said to my lord Dundee, that as he had brought us out of Scotland, he should convey us thither back in a body; adding, that the forces might lie that night at Watford, six miles off: my advice was followed, and I went before to get billets where to quarter them. My lord Dundee ordered all to be ready at sound of trumpet, and to unbridle their horses no longer than while they were eating their oats. The townsmen contrived to give out a report

before day, that the prince of Orange was approaching, hoping to affright us away with a false alarm; whereupon we marched out, but, at the same time drew up in a strong enclosure at the town's end, resolving to fight the prince if he should advance towards us. My lord Dundee dispatched me immediately to discover whether the report of the prince's approach was true; but I only met a messenger with a letter from his highness to my lord Dundee, which I received and delivered to his lordship. The contents of it, as far as I am able to recollect, were as follow:—

“ My lord Dundee,

“ I understand you are now at Watford, and that you keep your men together; I desire you may stay there till farther orders, and, upon my honour, none in my army shall touch you.

“ W. H. PRINCE OF ORANGE.”

Upon the receipt of this letter, our forces returned into the town, set up their horses, and refreshed themselves. About three in the afternoon, there came intelligence that the king would be at Whitehall that night, having returned from Feversham, whither he had fled in disguise, and was ill-treated by the rabble before they discovered him. Upon this accident the lords Dundee, Dunmore, Linlithgow, and myself, who desired leave to go with my colonel, took horse; and, arriving at Whitehall a little after the king, had the honour to kiss his majesty's hand.

The next morning, the earl of Feversham was sent by the king with some proposals to the prince of Orange, who was then at Windsor, where his lordship was put in arrest by the prince's command, who sent the marquis of Halifax, the earl Shrewsbury, and the lord Delamair (if I rightly remember) to the king, with his highness's order that his majesty should remove from Whitehall next day, before twelve o'clock. This order was given about one in the morning: at

the same time, a barge was brought to Whitehall stairs, and a Dutch guard set about the king without his knowledge, but with directions to see him safe, if he had a mind to go on board any ship, in order to his escape. A ship, it seems, was likewise prepared, and his majesty, attended by the lords Dunmore, Arran, and Middleton, went on board; and then the three lords returned to London. The prince arrived at St James's about two hours after his majesty's departure; and the earl of Arran went, among the rest, to attend his highness; to whom being introduced, he told the prince that the king his master had commanded him, upon his departure, to wait upon his highness and receive his commands. The prince replied, he was glad to see him, and had an esteem for him and all men of honour. Then turning aside to some other persons who were making their court, doctor Burnet, soon after made bishop of Salisbury, who had been the earl of Arran's governor, coming up to his lordship, cried, "Ay, my lord Arran, you are now come in, and think to make a merit when the work is done." To this insult the earl, in the hearing of many, replied only, "Come, doctor, we ken one another weel enough." And the earl's own father told the prince, that if this young fellow were not secured, he would perhaps give his highness some trouble. Whereupon this noble young lord was sent to the Tower, where he continued about a year, and then returned to Scotland; and soon after, the young lord Forbes, now earl of Granard, was likewise imprisoned in the same place. King William made several advances to his lordship, as he did to other persons of quality, to engage him in his service; and sending for him one day, asked him why he did not take care of his regiment. My lord Forbes, not being provided on a sudden with a better answer, told the king, that having been born in Ireland, he had not credit enough, he believed, to raise men to fill up the places of the papists in his regiment. King William



thereupon said he would take that charge upon himself. Lord Forbes having now recollected himself, said he had likewise another reason why he found it necessary to decline his service, but was unwilling to mention it, not having the least intention to disoblige his highness. The prince desired that he might do it freely, and it should not disoblige him; whereupon his lordship said, that having sworn to retain his loyalty to king James, he could not, in honour and conscience, without his master's permission, enter into the service of another prince during his majesty's life. Whereupon king William soon after thought it proper to send him to the Tower; but, however, was so generous as in the time of his confinement to send one of the clerks of the treasury with an order to pay him two hundred pounds, as very reasonably thinking that, under the loss of his regiment as well as of his rents in Ireland, he might want money to support himself. My lord Forbes having asked the clerk by whose direction he brought that sum, and the other answering that he was only ordered to pay the money to his lordship and to take his receipt, conjectured this present to have proceeded from king William; and, therefore, desired the clerk to present his most humble respects and thanks to his highness, and to let him know that, as he had never done him any service, he could not in honour receive any marks of his bounty.

Upon this subject I must add one more particular, that when my lord Forbes arrived with his regiment out of Ireland, and attended on king James, he advised his majesty to fight the prince upon the first opportunity after his landing, before his party should grow strong; but those about the king, who had already engaged in the other interest, would not suffer that advice to be followed.

I now return to my lord Dundee, and my lord Dunmore: Their lordships acted no longer as colonels, when they understood that the prince intended to

place himself on the throne during his majesty's life: but the first, with the twenty-four troopers, who followed him up from Watford, left London, and repaired with the utmost expedition to his own castle; and the second, some time after, to Edinburgh, lying both quiet until the convention of the states of Scotland was called.

After their lordships were gone to Scotland, I went to Watford, where my lord Kilsyth, as lieutenant-colonel, commanded the lord Dunmore's regiment of dragoons; the rest of the army which had been there being gone to other places. Then major-general Mackay ordered the lord Kilsyth to march the regiment from place to place, until they should come to Congleton, a town in Cheshire. Here they quartered, when the prince and princess of Orange were proclaimed king and queen of England, &c. by the sheriff and three or four bailiffs. It happened to be a very stormy day; and when the sheriff had done his office, a crack-brained fellow at the head of a great rabble proclaimed the duke of Monmouth king, to the great diversion of the regiment, not believing he had been beheaded.

When my lord Dundee refused to serve the prince of Orange, sir Thomas Levington, of my lord Kilsyth's family, got the regiment. This gentleman was born in Holland, and often used to raise recruits in Scotland; upon which account he was well known to the regiment. He came down post to Congleton; and at supper, told the officers that he was sent to know which of them would serve king William and which would not. Now the oath of allegiance to that prince not having been offered to that regiment, one of the company answered, that we, having sworn allegiance to king James, could not, in conscience and honour, draw our swords against him; whereupon sir Thomas, drinking a health to king James, upon his knees, answered, that he wished he might be damned whenever he should command them to break that oath;

and, in order to ingratiate himself farther with the regiment, added, that he would return to London next day for a command to march them straight to Scotland, where their wives and friends were, and likewise to procure a captain's commission for me, since sir Adam Blair, who commanded the troop in which I was lieutenant, had refused to serve king William; both of which he accordingly obtained.

When he returned from London, he marched with the regiment directly through Berwick into Scotland; and as they passed by Edinburgh (the castle whereof was kept for king James by the duke of Gordon) sir Thomas and my lord Kilsyth went into the town to receive duke Hamilton's commands, who was then high commissioner; and some other officers went in at the same time to see their wives and friends.

The duke asked sir Thomas where I was, and being informed that I was gone to Stirling, desired I might be sent for. Upon attending his grace, he was pleased to say, that he had been always my friend, and that now he had it in his power to provide for me if I would be true to my trust (for he supposed I had taken the oath to king William); and upon my answer, that I would be true to what I had sworn, the duke replied, it was very well.

Upon this occasion, and before I proceed farther, I think it will be proper to make some apology for my future conduct; because I am conscious that many people, who are in another interest, may be apt to think and speak hardly of me; but I desire they would please to consider, that the revolution was then an event altogether new, and had put many men much wiser than myself at a loss how to proceed. I had taken the oath of allegiance to king James; and having been bred up under the strictest principles of loyalty, could not force my conscience to dispense with that oath during his majesty's life. All those persons of quality in Scotland, to whom I had been most obliged, and on whom I chiefly depended, did

still adhere to that prince. Those people whom from my youth I had been taught to abhor,—whom, by the commands of my superiors, I had constantly treated as rebels, and who consequently conceived an irreconcilable animosity against me, were, upon this great change, the highest in favour and employments. And lastly, the established religion in Scotland, which was episcopal, under which I had been educated, and to which I had always borne the highest veneration, was utterly destroyed in that kingdom (although preserved in the other two), and the presbyterian kirk, which had ever been my greatest aversion, exalted in its stead.

Upon all these considerations, I hope every candid reader will be so just to believe that, supposing me in an error, I acted at least sincerely and according to the dictates of my conscience, and, as it is manifest, without any worldly view; for I had then considerable offers made me, and in all probability should have been greatly advanced, if I could have persuaded myself to accept them.

Having said thus much to excuse my conduct from that time forward, I shall now proceed to relate facts and passages just as they happened, and avoid, as much as possible, giving any offence.

My lord Dunmore being then at Edinburgh, I thought it my duty to pay my respects to his lordship, who had been also my colonel. He was pleased to invite me to dine with him that day at a tavern, where, he said, lieutenant-general Douglas (who had left England a little before on some pretence or other) the lord Kilsyth, captain Murray (all his ain lads, as his lordship expressed himself) were to meet him. I objected against Douglas, that he was not to be trusted; (this was the same man who afterwards was lieutenant-general of king William's army in Ireland against king James, and whose name will never be forgotten in that kingdom, on account of his many ravages and barbarities committed there); but

his lordship answered, that he would pawn his life for his honesty, because my lord Dundee had assured him that the lieutenant-general had given him his faith and honour to be with him in five days, if he marched to the hills to declare for king James. Whereupon I submitted my scruples to my colonel's judgment, and accordingly we all met together at the tavern.

Dinner was no sooner done, than we heard the news that king James was landed in Ireland; then Douglas, taking a beer-glass and looking round him, said, "Gentlemen, we have all eat of his bread, and here is his health;" which he drank off on his knees, and all the company did the same. Then filling another bumper, he drank damnation to all who would ever draw a sword against him.

I then returned to Stirling, and soon after the states of Scotland met. To this convention my lord Dundee went incognito, lest the rabble, who had threatened his person, should assault him in the streets. He made a speech to the house to the following purpose:—"That he came thither as a peer of the realm to serve his majesty; and that if the king had no service for him, he hoped that honourable assembly would protect him, as a peaceable subject, from the rage of his enemies."

Upon receiving an answer from the states, that they could not possibly do it, he slipped out of the house, and privately withdrew from the town, followed by the twenty-four troopers who had attended him thither: and as he rode by the castle, seeing the duke of Gordon, who commanded it, walking on the walls, he charged his grace to keep the place for king James till he should hear farther from him, who was then going, he said, to appear in the field for his majesty.

His lordship had no sooner left the town, than one major Bunting, with a party (by order from the convention) followed, with directions to seize him; where-

upon my lord Dundee, commanding his attendants to march on gently, stopped to speak with the major; and, understanding his errand, advised him to return, or he would send him back to his masters in a pair of blankets, as he expressed himself. The major (who perhaps was no enemy to his lordship) returned accordingly, and my lord arrived at his castle, where he staid only that night; for in the morning, taking four thousand pounds with him, he went into the Highlands to sir Ewen Cameron, where he was soon joined by the laird of Cappagh, who, some time before, had been driven out of his estate by order of king James (as I have already related) and by many other gentlemen of quality.

Major-general Mackay, coming to Edinburgh at this juncture, was ordered to march the forces which he brought with him against my lord Dundee. These forces consisted of three or four regiments of foot and one of horse, besides sir Thomas Levingston's of dragoons. They stopped in their march a night or two at Dundee. The first night I got privately into the castle (as it had been agreed between my lord Kilsyth and me) and there assured my lady Dundee, that the regiment of dragoons in which I served should be at her lord's service whenever he pleased to command; whereof her ladyship gave notice next day to her husband, who sent me a note by a ragged Highlander, which I received as we were on our march from the town of Dundee towards the Highlands. The contents of my lord's note were, "That he had written to the king to send him two thousand foot and one thousand horse out of Ireland; and that, as soon as those forces were arrived; he would expect me with a regiment of dragoons."

When major-general Mackay came within sight of my lord Dundee, night coming on obliged him to halt, which gave opportunity to his lordship to retreat in the morning; but Mackay followed him all day, whereupon, facing about, my lord advanced

towards him, which caused the major-general to retreat in his turn. Thus we spent about three weeks, sometimes pursuing and sometimes pursued; our leader, Mackay, still writing every post for new supplies; till at last, one regiment of dragoons and another of foot came to his assistance, on the 5th day of June 1689. When this reinforcement came, he got intelligence of my lord Kilsyth's intention and mine of going over with the regiment to my lord Dundee.

All people agreed that lieutenant-general Douglas, who had made so many solemn professions of his loyalty to king James, and whose health he had drank on his knees, was the very person who had given this intelligence to Mackay, because he only knew what had passed at the tavern where we dined; and because, instead of going with Dundee, as he had promised him upon his faith and honour, he had rid post for London.

From this period my troubles began; for I was then sent up to Edinburgh, and there imprisoned in the Tolbooth, together with my lord Kilsyth, captain Levingston, captain Murray; each of us in a separate dungeon, with orders that none should be permitted to speak with us, except through the key-hole; and in this miserable condition we lay for two months.

My lord Kilsyth's friends were under great apprehensions that I would betray his lordship. But my lord did me the justice to assure them, that I would suffer the worst extremity rather than be guilty of so infamous an action; which, he said, they should find upon any temptation that might offer. When we had been close confined in our dungeons for two months, we were brought before the council, one by one, to be examined concerning our knowledge of my lord Kilsyth's intention to carry off the regiment. Levingston and the two Murrays, having not been privy to that design, were able to discover nothing to his lordship's prejudice; and were likewise gentlemen of too much honour to purchase their liberty.

with a lie; whereupon they were remanded back to their several dungeons. It was my turn to be next examined, and I was strongly suspected. But, notwithstanding my liberty was promised me if I would discover all I knew of the matter, the advocate at the same time also urging I must have certainly been privy to it; I positively denied any knowledge of that affair, adding, that I believed my lord Kilsyth had never entertained such a design; or, if he had, that it was altogether improbable his lordship should impart it to me, a poor stranger born in Ireland, and yet keep it a secret from gentlemen of the kingdom in whom he might much better confide. This I still repeated, and stood to with great firmness, even after I saw the hangman, with the torturing boots, standing at my back; whereupon I was likewise returned to my dungeon.

The council, although they could force no confession from me or my companions that might affect my lord Kilsyth, on whose estate their hearts were much set, yet resolved to make a sacrifice of some one among us. But the other gentlemen being of their own kindred and country, and I a stranger, as well as much hated for prosecuting the covenanters (who by the change of the times, measures, and opinions, were now grown into high favour with the government, as I have before mentioned) the lot fell on me, and they gave out a report that I should be hanged in a few days. But a gentleman, then in town, one Mr Buchanan, who held a secret correspondence with my lord Dundee, sent his lordship intelligence of this resolution concerning me

That lord was then at the castle of Blair of Athol; and, having notice of the danger I was in, wrote a letter to the duke of Hamilton, president of the council, desiring his grace to inform the board, "That if they hanged captain Creighton, or (to use his own homely expression) if they touched an hair of his tail, he would cut the laird of Blair, and the laird of Pol-



lok, joint by joint, and would send their limbs in hampers to the council."

These two gentlemen, having been taken prisoners at Perth by my lord Dundee, were still kept in confinement. Whereupon the duke, though it was night, called the council, which met immediately, supposing that the business which pressed so much might relate to some express from court. But when the clerk read my lord Dundee's letter, they appeared in great confusion; whereupon the duke said, "I fear we dare not touch an hair of Creichton; for ye all know Dundee too well, to doubt whether he will be punctual to his word; and the two gentlemen in his hands are too nearly allied to some here, that their lives should be endangered on this occasion." What his grace said was very true; for, if I remember right, the laird of Blair had married a daughter of a former duke of Hamilton. The issue of the matter was, that under this perplexity they all cried out, "Let the fellow live a while longer."

Not long after this happened the battle of Gilliecranky, near the castle of Blair of Athol; where the forces under the lord Dundee, consisting of no more than seventeen hundred foot (all Highlanders, except three hundred sent him from Ireland, under the command of colonel Cannon, when he expected three thousand, as I have mentioned) and forty-five horse, routed an army of five thousand men, with major-general Mackay at their head; took fifteen hundred prisoners, and killed a great number, among whom colonel Balfour was one. Mackay escaped, and fled that night twenty-five miles endways to the castle of Drummond.

But my lord Dundee did not live to see himself victorious; for, as he was wheeling about a rock, over the enemy's heads, and making down the brae to attack them (they making a running fire), he was killed by a random shot at the beginning of the action: yet his men discovered not his fall, till they

had obtained the victory. The next day, though victorious, they suffered their prisoners to depart, on parole, that they would never take up arms against king James, colonel Fergusson only excepted, on account of his more than ordinary zeal for the new establishment.

King William having heard of this defeat, said, "He knew the lord Dundee so well, that he must have been either killed or mortally wounded, otherwise, before that time, he would have been master of Edinburgh."

I now desire leave to return to my own affairs. About four months after my examination, I was advised, in plain words, by the dukes of Hamilton and Queensberry, who were then going up to London, that I should bribe Melville, then secretary of Scotland, with whom their graces likewise would use their interest, to get an order from king William for my liberty. But I was so far from having money to bribe a courtier of the secretary's rank, that I had hardly enough to support myself; whereupon my noble friend, the lord Kilsyth, who thought himself indebted to my fidelity for his life and fortune, was so extremely generous as to make me a present of five hundred pounds, which I immediately sent to Melville; who, thereupon, joining his interest with the good offices of the two dukes before mentioned, prevailed with king William to send down an order; upon the receipt of which I was to be set at liberty by the council. But they would not obey it, alleging that the king was misinformed; and, out of the abundance of their zeal, wrote to him, that if captain Creichton should obtain his liberty, he would murder all Scotland in one night.

Thus my hope of liberty vanished: for king William soon after going to Flanders, and not thinking it prudent to discredit the representation which the council had made of me, as so very dangerous a person, left me in the Tolbooth; though the dukes, out of their great friendship (which I should be most un-

grateful ever to forget) had both offered to answer, body for body, for my peaceable demeanour. But notwithstanding all, king William, for the reason before mentioned, left me prisoner in the Tolbooth, as I said, where I continued two years and a half longer, without one penny of money, though not without many friends, whose charity and generosity supported me under this heavy affliction.

My wife and two boys, with as many daughters, were in town all the time of my confinement. The boys died young, but the mother and the two girls lived to endure many hardships; having been twice plundered by the rabble of the little substance they had left: however, they and myself were still providentially relieved by some friend or other; and particularly once by the lady Carnwath (mother of the present earl) who, when we had not one penny left to buy bread, sent us up a sack of meal and a basket of fowl, sixty miles from Edinburgh.

My fellow prisoners and I, after the time of our examination by the council, were allowed, for four or five hours every day, to converse with each other, and with our friends: and, when we had been three years into the Tolbooth, my companions, being related to the best families in the kingdom, were at last permitted, on bail, to lodge in the city, with a sentry at each of their doors. But I was not allowed the same favour till two months after, when duke Hamilton, still my friend, with much difficulty and strong application to the council, obtained it for me: and when the order was at last granted, I was at a great loss to find such a person for my bail, whom the council would approve of; till the laird of Pettencrief, a gentleman whom I had never seen before, sent up his name (without any application from me) to the clerk, and was accordingly accepted.

I had not been two months discharged out of the Tolbooth, and removed to a private lodging in the town, with a sentry upon me, when the government, upon

some pretence or other, filled the Castle with a great number of persons of quality; among whom were the lord Kilsyth, Hume, and several others; and the Tolbooth again, with as many of inferior note as it could hold.

In a week after I had been permitted to live in the city with my family, I found the sentry had orders to keep me close, without allowing me to stir from my lodgings upon any pretence whatsoever: but when another regiment came to relieve that which was before upon duty, I bribed him who had been my keeper, at his going off, that he should tell the first who came in his place, that his orders were to walk with me to any part of the town I pleased. This was accordingly done, and thenceforward I used to take my sentry along with me, and visit my old fellow prisoners, the Gillicranky men, and sometimes stay with them all night; at other times, my friends would do the same at my lodgings; among whom the lord William Douglas often did me that honour. Nay sometimes, in company of some gentlemen, I would leave the sentry drinking with the footmen in an alehouse at the back of the town-wall, while we rambled nine or ten miles into the country to visit some acquaintance or other; still taking care to return before two in the afternoon, which was the hour of parade, to save the sentry from danger.

Thus I spent above two months, till the day the government had filled the Castle and the Tolbooth again, as I have mentioned already. As soon as I was told of my lord Kilsyth's imprisonment, I knew the danger I was in, and had just time to run with the sentry to a cellar, where I found twelve officers got together, for shelter likewise from the storm, a little before me. We stayed there close till night, and then dispatched my sentry with captain Mair's footman to the lady Lockhart's (who was married to the captain) four miles out of town, to let her know that her husband would be at home that night, with twelve other cava-

liers—(for so in those days we affected to style ourselves)—to avoid being imprisoned in the Tolbooth.

When the message was delivered, the lady ordered three or four of her servants to take up the sentry four pair of stairs, and to ply him well with drink. Accordingly, they kept him drunk for twelve days and nights together, so that he neither saw me, nor I him, in all that time. Two days after we came to lady Lockhart's, I determined, against her and her friend's advice, to return privately to Edinburgh, to discourse with the laird of Pettencrief, my bail: resolving at all adventures, that so generous a person should not be a sufferer on my account. I accordingly repaired in the night to the same alehouse at the back of the town-wall, and thence sent the footman who attended me, to bring the laird thither. He presently came, with two other gentlemen in his company; and, after drinking together for half an hour, he bid me go whither I pleased, and God's blessing along with me: whereupon, thrusting me out at the door, in a friendly manner, added, that he would pay the hundred pounds he was bound in to the council, next morning, if demanded of him, which they accordingly did, and the money was paid.

I then returned to the company, at my lady Lockhart's, and thence wrote to the two dukes before-mentioned for their advice, what course to take. Their answer was, "that in regard to my poor family, I should make my escape to my own country, and there set potatoes, till I saw better times." At the end of the twelve days, captain Mair and his eleven friends got over seas to St Germain's; when I likewise took my leave of them and the lady, to make the best of my way for Ireland. But I bethought me of the poor sentry, to whom the twelve days we stayed there seemed no longer than two or three, so well was he plied with drink; and calling for him, asked whether he would choose to share with me and my fortunes, or go back to the regiment, perhaps to be

shot for neglect of his duty? He readily answered, that he would go with me whither ever I went; and not long after we came into Ireland, I had the good luck to get him made a serjeant of grenadiers, in the regiment formerly commanded by my lord Dumbar-ton, by a captain who was then gone thither for recruits; in which regiment he died a lieutenant some years after.

The lady, at parting, made me a present of a good horse, with ten dollars to bear my charges on the way; and moreover hired a tenant's horse to carry the sentry to the borders. I durst not be seen to pass through Galloway, and therefore went by Carlisle to Whitehaven. Here I found an acquaintance, who was minister of the town, of the name of Marr; a gentleman of great worth and learning. Before the revolution, he had been minister of a parish in Scotland, near the borders; but about the time of that event, the rabble, as he told me the story, came to his house in the night to rob and murder him; having treated others of his brethren, the episcopal clergy, before, in that inhuman manner. He was a single man, and had but one man-servant, whose business it was to dress his meat, and make his bed; and while the villains were breaking into the house, he had just time to put on his breeches, stockings, and shoes, and no more; for by that time they were got in; when he thought it better to leap out of the window, but half-clothed as he was, than to expose his life to the fury of such, whose very mercies might be cruel. Thus he saved his life, and made his escape to the English side, with only four dollars in his pocket; leaving his goods, house, and parish, as plunder to those saints, who, doubtless, looked on such as he was as no other than an usurper of what, of right, pertained to them; pursuant to the maxim, "that dominion is founded in grace."

And here I beg leave to relate the treatment which another episcopal clergyman received from that tribe,

about the same time : his name was Kirkwood, whom I likewise knew before the revolution, minister of a parish in Galloway in Scotland, and afterwards rector in the county of Fermanah in Ireland. Among other good qualities, this gentleman was a very facetious person ; and by his presence of mind in making use of this talent, he had the good fortune to save both his life and goods from the fury of those godly men, who then thought all things their own. When they broke into the house he was in bed ; and sitting up in his shirt, desired leave to speak a few words before he died ; which (I cannot tell how it happened) they granted, and he spoke to this effect : that he had always prayed to God he might die in his bed ; adding, that he had in his house as good ale and brandy as was in all Scotland ; and therefore hoped the worthy gentlemen would do him the honour to drink with him before they did anything rashly.

This facetious speech, which they little expected from him, in the article of so much danger as then threatened him, had the luck to divert them from their bloody purpose, and to make them comply with his request : so that, after drinking plentifully, they said he was an hearty chiel ; and left him in quiet possession of his house and goods. But he durst not trust his talent to another trial, lest the next company might not be influenced as this first had been ; and therefore, as soon as it was day, made off with his family and effects in the best manner he could, and rested not until he was safe in Ireland.

I could not forbear relating these stories from the gentlemen's own mouths, as I might do others of the same kind, upon my own knowledge ; although they are contradictory to what the preachers of the new established kirk have so confidently given out. They would fain have the world believe, that they showed great indulgence to the episcopal clergy at the revolution, and for several years after. But they must

grant me and others leave not to believe them : nor ought they to be angry, if I give the reader a farther idea of them, and of the spirit that reigned in the synods, conventions, or general assemblies of their kirk.

During my confinement in the Tolbooth, a general assembly was called ; to which my lord Lothian, as I was informed afterwards, was sent commissioner from king William. His lordship's instructions were to signify to them the king's desire, that as many of the episcopal clergy, as would take the oath of allegiance to him, might keep possession of their several parishes. To this the members answered in a disdainful manner ; " What ! shall we suffer any scabbed sheep among us ? Na, na, nat ane ;" and thereupon sent two of their brethren to king William, who was then in Flanders, to move him for more favours to the kirk, and power farther to oppress the episcopal clergy. But that prince told them in plain terms, that he had been imposed upon in granting to the kirk the favours she had already got ; and, withal, commanded them to let the general assembly know, that it was his will and pleasure that they should live peaceably with those who were willing to live so with them ; otherwise, he would make them know that he was their master.

With this unwelcome answer from king William, the two spiritual envoys returned to those who sent them ; and at the same time, or soon after, the prince dispatched an order to the commissioner to dissolve the assembly, if he found them persisting in their severity towards the episcopal clergy.

As soon as the legates delivered the message, all in the assembly began to speak out with the greatest boldness imaginable, saying, " That the king durst not have sent them such an answer, if he had not an army at his back." Whereupon the commissioner dissolved the synod ; and, in the king's name, commanded all the members to depart to their homes.



But, instead of obeying that order, they all went in a body, with that poor weak creature the lord Crawford at their head, to the Market-cross; and there published a protestation, declaring that the king had no authority in church affairs, nor any right to dissolve their general assembly.

I relate this story, as it was told me, not only to give the reader an idea of the spirit that reigned in that kirk, established now in Scotland, as I have said, but likewise to do justice to the memory of king William (which may be the more acceptable, as coming from one who was in a contrary interest). And, indeed, I have so good an opinion of that prince, as to believe he would have acted much better than he did, with regard to the civil and ecclesiastical constitution in Scotland, if he had been permitted to govern by his own opinions.

But now to come to the conclusion of my story. The Hollandtide\* after I arrived in Ireland, my wife and two daughters followed me; and we settled in the county of Tyrone with my father (who died two years afterwards), on a small freehold; where I have made a hard shift to maintain them with industry, and even manual labour, for about twelve years, till my wife died, and my daughters were married, which happened not very long after I became a widower.

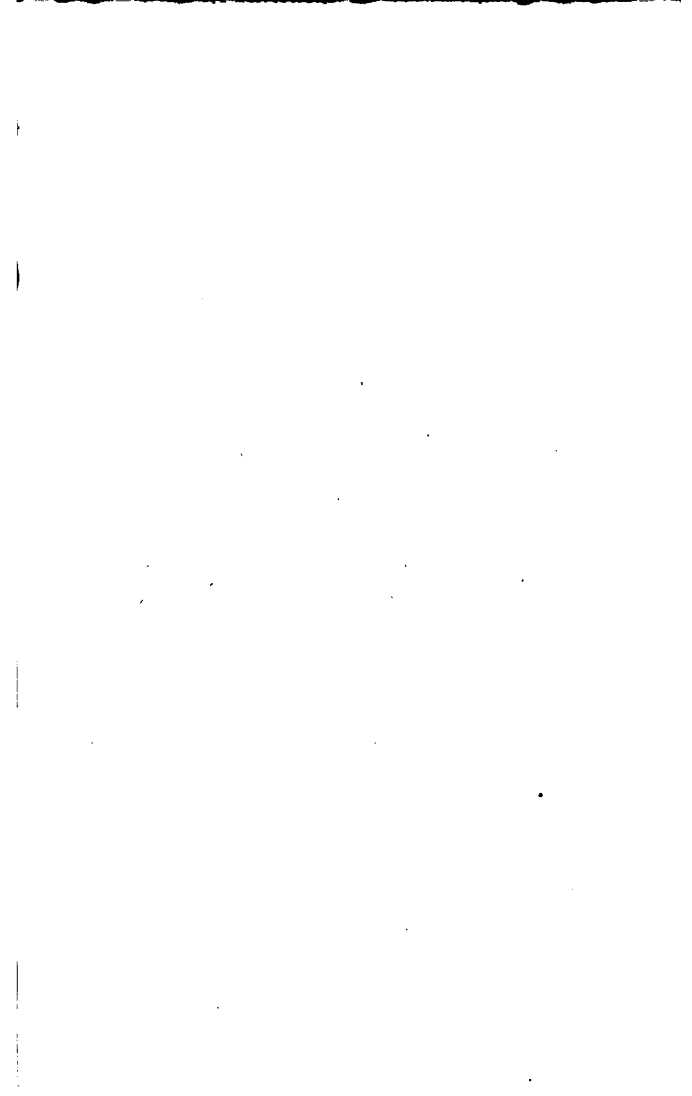
I am at present in the eighty-third year of my age, still hated by those people who affirm the old covenanters to have been unjustly dealt with; and therefore believe a great number of improbable stories concerning me; as that I was a common murderer of them and their preachers, with many other false and improbable stories. But the reader, I hope, from whom I have not concealed any one transaction or adventure that happened to me among those rebellious people, or misrepresented the least circumstance, as far as my memory could serve me, will judge whether he hath reason to believe me to have been

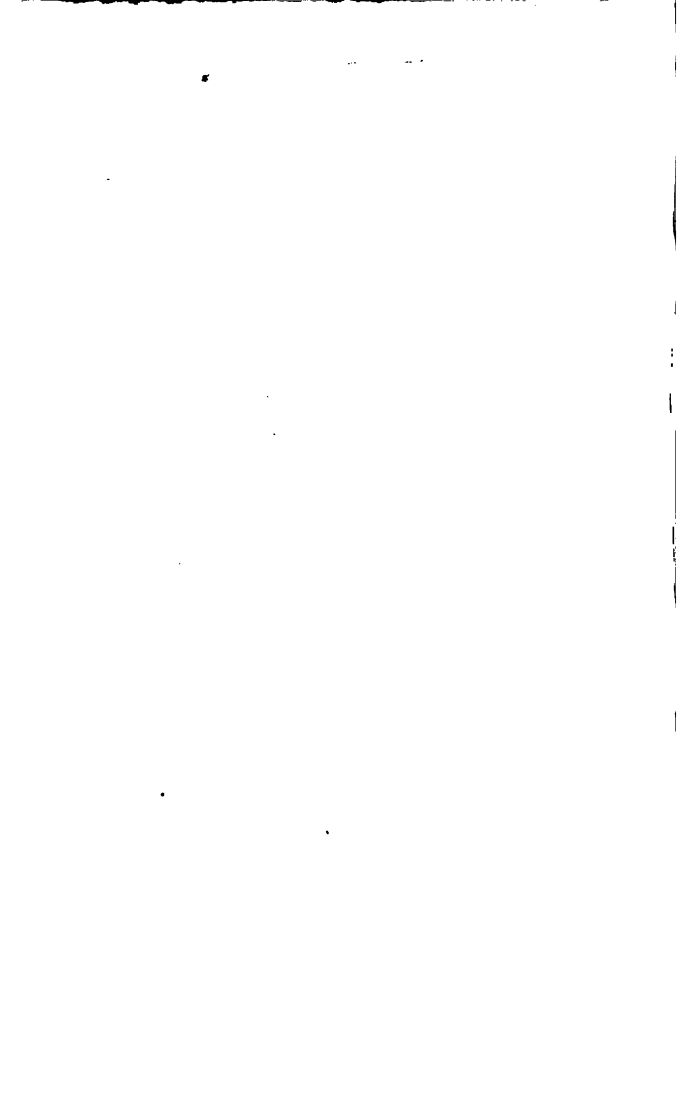
\* The Feast of All Saints.

such a person as they represented me, and to hate me as they do upon that account. And my comfort is, that I can appeal from their unjust tribunal to the mercy of God, before whom, by the course of nature, I must soon appear, who knows the integrity of my heart, and that my actions (condemned by them) were, as far as my understanding could direct me, meant for the good of the church, and the service of my king and country.

And, although such people hate me, because they give credit to the false reports raised concerning me, another comfort left me in my old age is, that I have constantly preserved (and still do so) the love and esteem of all honest and good men to whom I have had the happiness at any time to be known.

JOHN CREICHTON.





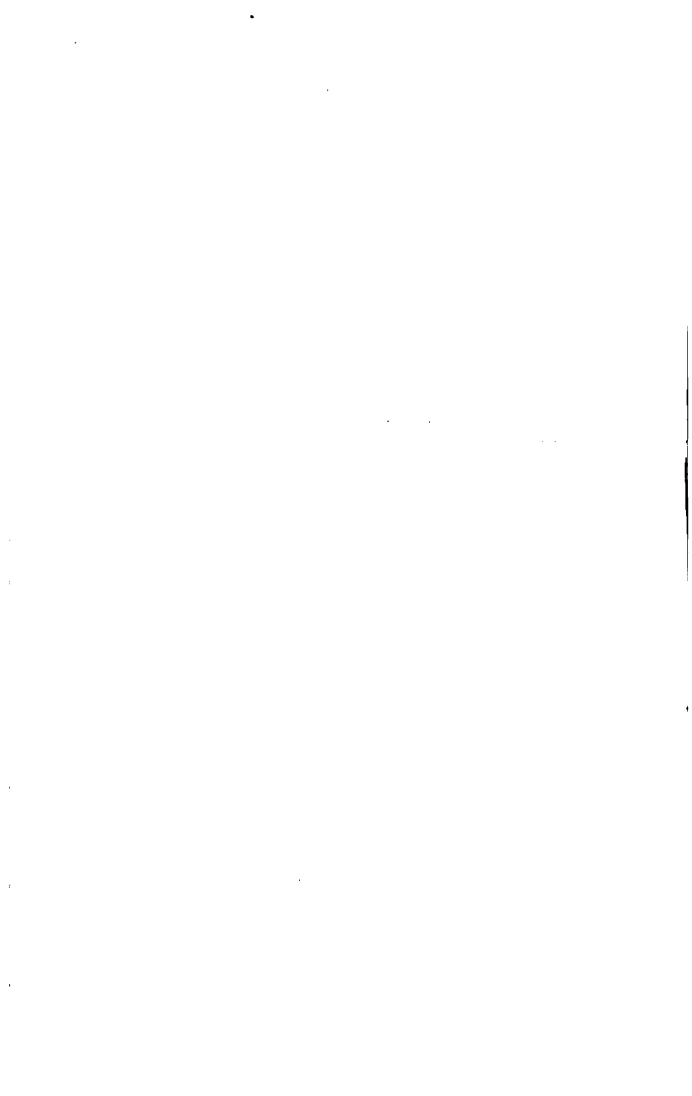
**MEMOIR**  
**OF**  
**WILLIAM GIFFORD.**

**WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.**

**LONDON:**  
**WHITTAKER, TREACHER, AND ARNOT,**  
**AVE-MARIA-LANE.**

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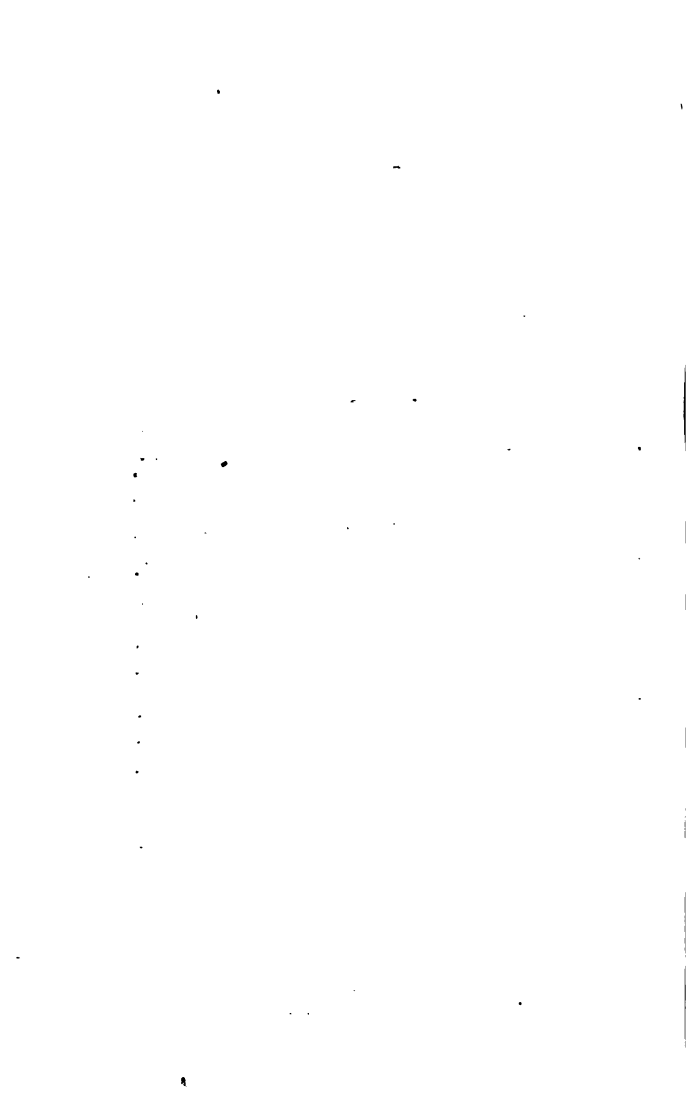
**MDCCCXXIX.**



## INTRODUCTION.

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THE recent death of Mr WILLIAM GIFFORD will, it is thought, render a republication of his amusing account of his early life, at this moment, more directly welcome to the subscribers to this collection. As supplying one of the most striking instances on record of literary self-advancement, and the conquest obtained by an acute mind over unfavourable circumstances, it has always been deemed interesting, and can scarcely fail proving still more so when thus timely set off by a brief narration of the later career of this eminent critic, which it will be our duty to supply by way of sequel.





# MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM GIFFORD.

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I AM about to enter on a very uninteresting subject: but all my friends tell me that it is necessary to account for the long delay of the following work; and I can only do it by adverting to the circumstances of my life. Will this be accepted as an apology?

I know but little of my family, and that little is not very precise: my great-grandfather (the most remote of it that I ever recollect to have heard mentioned) possessed considerable property at Halsbury, a parish in the neighbourhood of Ashburton; but whether acquired or inherited, I never thought of asking, and do not know.

He was probably a native of Devonshire, for there he spent the last years of his life; spent them, too, in some sort of consideration, for Mr T. (a very respectable surgeon of Ashburton) loved to repeat to me, when I first grew into notice, that he had frequently hunted with his hounds.\*

\* The matter is of no consequence—no, not even to myself. From my family I derived nothing but a name, which is more, perhaps, than I shall leave: but, to check the sneers of rude vulgarity, that family was among the most ancient and respectable of this part of the country, and, not more than three generations from the present, was counted among the wealthiest.—*Σκίαι οὐρα!*

My grandfather was on ill terms with him. I believe, not without sufficient reason, for he was extravagant and dissipated. My father never mentioned his name, but my mother would sometimes tell me that he had ruined the family. That he spent much, I know; but I am inclined to think, that his undutiful conduct occasioned my great-grandfather to bequeath a considerable part of his property from him.

My father, I fear, revenged in some measure the cause of my great-grandfather. He was, as I have heard my mother say, "a very wild young man, who could be kept to nothing." He was sent to the grammar-school at Exeter, from which he made his escape, and entered on board a man-of-war. He was reclaimed from this situation by my grandfather, and left his school a second time, to wander in some vagabond society.\* He was now probably given up; for he was, on his return from this notable adventure, reduced to article himself to a plumber and glazier, with whom he luckily staid long enough to learn the business. I suppose his father was now dead, for he became possessed of two small estates, married my mother,† (the daughter of a carpenter at Ashburton,) and thought himself rich enough to set up for himself; which he did, with some credit, at South Molton. Why he chose to fix there, I never inquired; but I learned from my mother, that after a residence of four or five years, he thoughtlessly engaged in a dangerous frolic, which drove him once more to sea: this was an attempt to excite a riot in a Methodist chapel, for which his companions were prosecuted, and he fled.

My father was a good seaman, and was soon made second in command in the Lyon, a large armed transport in the service of government: while my mother (then

\* He had gone with Bamfylde Moor Carew, then an old man.

† Her maiden name was Elizabeth Cain. My father's christian name was Edward.

with child of me) returned to her native place, Ashburton, where I was born, in April 1756.

The resources of my mother were very scanty. They arose from the rent of three or four small fields, which yet remained unsold. With these, however, she did what she could for me; and as soon as I was old enough to be trusted out of her sight, sent me to a school-mistress of the name of Parret, from whom I learned in due time to read. I cannot boast much of my acquisitions at this school; they consisted merely of the contents of the "Child's Spelling Book:" but from my mother, who had stored up the literature of a country town, which, about a half century ago, amounted to little more than what was disseminated by itinerant ballad-singers, or rather, readers, I had acquired much curious knowledge of "Catskin," and the "Golden Bull," and the "Bloody Gardener," and many other histories equally instructive and amusing.

My father returned from sea in 1764. He had been at the siege of the Havannah, and though he received more than a hundred pounds for prize money, and his wages were considerable, yet, as he had not acquired any strict habits of economy, he brought home but a trifling sum. The little property yet left was therefore turned into money; a trifle more was got by agreeing to renounce all future pretensions to an estate at Totness;\* and with this my father set up a second time as a glazier and house painter. I was now about eight years old, and was put to the free-school (kept by Hugh Smerdon) to learn to read, and write, and cypher. Here I continued about three years, making a most wretched progress, when my father fell sick and died. He had not acquired wisdom from his misfortunes, but continued wasting his time in unprofitable pursuits, to

\* This consisted of several houses, which had been thoughtlessly suffered to fall into decay, and of which the rents had been so long unclaimed, that they could not now be recovered, unless by an expensive litigation.

the great detriment of his business. He loved drink for the sake of society, and to this he fell a martyr; dying of a decayed and ruined constitution before he was forty. The town's-people thought him a shrewd and sensible man, and regretted his death. As for me, I never greatly loved him; I had not grown up with him, and he was too prone to repulse my little advances to familiarity with coldness or anger. He had certainly some reason to be displeased with me, for I learned little at school, and nothing at home, although he would now and then attempt to give me some insight into his business. As impressions of any kind are not very strong at the age of eleven or twelve, I did not long feel his loss; nor was it a subject of much sorrow to me that my mother was doubtful of her ability to continue me at school, though I had by this time acquired a love for reading.

I never knew in what circumstances my mother was left; most probably they were inadequate to her support, without some kind of exertion, especially as she was now burthened with a second child about six or eight months old. Unfortunately she determined to prosecute my father's business, for which purpose she engaged a couple of journeymen, who, finding her ignorant of every part of it, wasted her property, and embezzled her money. What the consequence of this double fraud would have been, there was no opportunity of knowing, as, in somewhat less than a twelvemonth, my poor mother followed my father to the grave. She was an excellent woman, bore my father's infirmities with patience and good humour, loved her children dearly, and died at last, exhausted with anxiety and grief more on their account than her own.

I was not quite thirteen when this happened; my little brother was hardly two; and we had not a relation, nor a friend in the world. Everything that was left was seized by a person of the name of Carlile, for money advanced to my mother. It may be supposed

that I could not dispute the justice of his claims ; and as no one else interfered, he was suffered to do as he liked. My little brother was sent to the alms-house, whither his nurse followed him out of pure affection ; and I was taken to the house of the person I have just mentioned, who was also my godfather. Respect for the opinion of the town (which, whether correct or not, was, that he had amply repaid himself by the sale of my mother's effects) induced him to send me again to school, where I was more diligent than before, and more successful. I grew fond of arithmetic, and my master began to distinguish me ; but these golden days were over in less than three months. Carlile sickened at the expense ; and, as the people were now indifferent to my fate, he looked round for an opportunity of ridding himself of a useless charge. He had previously attempted to engage me in the drudgery of husbandry. I drove the plough for one day to gratify him ; but I left it with the resolution to do so no more, and in despite of his threats and promises adhered to my determination. In this, I was guided no less by necessity than will. During my father's life, in attempting to clamber up a table, I had fallen backward, and drawn it after me ; its edge fell upon my breast, and I never recovered the effects of the blow, of which I was made extremely sensible on any extraordinary exertion. Ploughing, therefore, was out of the question ; and, as I have already said, I utterly refused to follow it.

As I could write and cypher (as the phrase is) Carlile next thought of sending me to Newfoundland, to assist in a storehouse. For this purpose he negotiated with a Mr Holdsworthy of Dartmouth, who agreed to fit me out. I left Ashburton with little expectation of seeing it again, and indeed with little care, and rode with my godfather to the dwelling of Mr Holdsworthy. On seeing me, this great man observed, with a look of pity and contempt, that I was "too small," and sent me away sufficiently mortified.

I expected to be very ill received by my godfather, but he said nothing. He did not, however, choose to take me back himself, but sent me in a passage-boat to Totness, from whence I was to walk home. On the passage, the boat was driven by a midnight storm on the rocks, and I escaped almost by miracle.

My godfather had now humbler views for me, and I had little heart to resist anything. He proposed to send me on board one of the Torbay fishing-boats; I ventured, however, to remonstrate against this, and the matter was compromised by my consenting to go on board a coaster. A coaster was speedily found for me at Brixham, and thither I went when little more than thirteen.

My master, whose name was Full, though a gross and ignorant, was not an ill-natured man; at least, not to me; and my mistress used me with unvarying kindness; moved perhaps by my weakness and tender years. In return, I did what I could to requite her, and my good will was not overlooked.

Our vessel was not very large, nor our crew very numerous. On ordinary occasions, such as short trips to Dartmouth, Plymouth, &c. it consisted only of my master, an apprentice nearly out of his time, and myself: when we had to go farther, to Portsmouth for example, an additional hand was hired for the voyage.

In this vessel (the Two Brothers) I continued nearly a twelvemonth; and here I got acquainted with nautical terms, and contracted a love for the sea which a lapse of thirty years has but little diminished.

It will be easily conceived that my life was a life of hardship. I was not only a "ship-boy on the high and giddy mast," but also in the cabin, where every menial office fell to my lot; yet, if I was restless and discontented, I can safely say, it was not so much on account of this, as of my being precluded from all possibility of reading; as my master did not possess, nor do I recollect seeing during the whole time of my

abode with him, a single book of any description, except the "Coasting Pilot."

As my lot seemed to be cast, however, I was not negligent in seeking such information as promised to be useful; and I therefore frequented, at my leisure hours, such vessels as dropt into Torbay. On attempting to get on board one of these, which I did at midnight, I missed my footing, and fell into the sea. The floating away of the boat alarmed the man on deck, who came to the ship's side just in time to see me sink. He immediately threw out several ropes, one of which providentially (for I was unconscious of it) entangled itself about me, and I was drawn up to the surface, till a boat could be got round. The usual methods were taken to recover me, and I awoke in bed the next morning, remembering nothing but the horror I felt when I first found myself unable to call out for assistance.

This was not my only escape, but I forbear to speak of them. An escape of another kind was now preparing for me, which deserves all my notice, as it was decisive of my future fate.

On Christmas day (1770) I was surprised by a message from my godfather, saying that he had sent a man and horse to bring me to Ashburton, and desiring me to set out without delay. My master, as well as myself, supposed it was to spend the holidays there, and he therefore made no objection to my going. We were, however, both mistaken.

Since I had lived at Brixham, I had broken off all connection with Ashburton. I had no relation there but my poor brother,\* who was yet too young for any

\* Of my brother, here introduced for the last time, I must yet say a few words. He was literally,

The child of misery baptized in tears;  
and the short passage of his life did not belie the melancholy presage of his infancy. When he was seven years old the parish bound him out to a husbandman, of the name of Leman, with whom he endured incredible hardships,

kind of correspondence; and the conduct of my godfather towards me did not entitle him to any portion of my gratitude or kind remembrance. I lived, therefore, in a sort of sullen independence on all I had formerly known, and thought without regret of being abandoned by every one to my fate. But I had not been overlooked. The women of Brixham, who travelled to Ashburton twice a week with fish, and who had known my parents, did not see me without kind concern, running about the beach in a ragged jacket and trousers. They mentioned this to the people of Ashburton, and never without commiserating my change of condition. This tale, often repeated, awakened at length the pity of their auditors, and, as the next step, their resentment against the man who had reduced me to such a state of wretchedness. In a large town this would have had but little effect; but in a place like Ashburton, where every report speedily becomes the common property of all the inhabitants, it raised a murmur, which my godfather found himself either unable, or unwilling to encounter; he therefore determined to recall me, which he could easily do, as I wanted some months of fourteen, and was not yet bound.

All this I learned on my arrival; and my heart, which had been cruelly shut up, now opened to kinder sentiments, and fairer views.

After the holidays I returned to my darling pursuit, arithmetic: my progress was now so rapid that in a few months I was at the head of the school, and

which I had it not in my power to alleviate. At nine years of age he broke his thigh, and I took that opportunity to teach him to read and write. When my own situation was improved, I persuaded him to try the sea; he did so, and was taken on board the *Egmont*, on condition that his master should receive his wages. The time was now fast approaching when I could serve him, but he was doomed to know no favourable change of fortune: he fell sick, and died at Cork.



qualified to assist my master (Mr E. Furlong) on any extraordinary emergency. As he usually gave me a trifle on those occasions, it raised a thought in me, that by engaging with him as a regular assistant, and undertaking the instruction of a few evening scholars, I might, with a little additional aid, be enabled to support myself. God knows, my ideas of support at this time were of no very extravagant nature. I had, besides, another object in view. Mr. Hugh Smerdon (my first master) was now grown old and infirm; it seemed unlikely that he should hold out above three or four years; and I fondly flattered myself that, notwithstanding my youth, I might possibly be appointed to succeed him. I was in my fifteenth year, when I built these castles: a storm, however, was collecting, which unexpectedly burst upon me, and swept them all away.

On mentioning my little plan to Carlile, he treated it with the utmost contempt; and told me, in his turn, that as I had learned enough, and more than enough, at school, he must be considered as having fairly discharged his duty (so, indeed, he had); he added, that he had been negotiating with his cousin, a shoemaker of some respectability, who had liberally agreed to take me without a fee, as an apprentice. I was so shocked at this intelligence, that I did not remonstrate; but went in sullenness and silence to my new master, to whom I was soon after bound,\* till I should attain the age of twenty-one.

The family consisted of four journeymen, two sons about my own age, and an apprentice somewhat older. In these there was nothing remarkable; but my master was the strangest creature! He was a Presbyterian, whose reading was entirely confined to the small tracts published on the Exeter controversy. As these (at least his portion of them) were all on one

\* My indenture, which now lies before me, is dated the 1st of January 1772.

side, he entertained no doubt of their infallibility, and being noisy and disputatious, was sure to silence his opponents; and became, in consequence of it, intolerably arrogant and conceited. He was not, however, indebted solely to his knowledge of the subject for his triumph: he was possessed of "Fenning's Dictionary," and he made a most singular use of it. His custom was to fix on any word in common use, and then to get by heart the synonym, or periphrasis by which it was explained in the book; this he constantly substituted for the simple term, and as his opponents were commonly ignorant of his meaning, his victory was complete.

With such a man I was not likely to add much to my stock of knowledge, small as it was; and, indeed, nothing could well be smaller. At this period, I had read nothing but a black letter romance, called "Parismus and Parismenus," and a few loose magazines which my mother had brought from South Molton. With the Bible, indeed, I was well acquainted; it was the favourite study of my grandmother, and reading it frequently with her had impressed it strongly on my mind; these then, with the "Imitation of Thomas à Kempis," which I used to read to my mother on her death-bed, constituted the whole of my literary acquisitions.

As I hated my new profession with a perfect hatred, I made no progress in it; and was consequently little regarded in the family, of which I sank by degrees into the common drudge: this did not much disquiet me, for my spirits were now humbled. I did not, however, quite resign my hope of one day succeeding to Mr Hugh Smerdon, and therefore secretly prosecuted my favourite study at every interval of leisure.

These intervals were not very frequent; and when the use I made of them was found out, they were rendered still less so. I could not guess the motives for this at first; but at length I discovered that my mas-

ter destined his youngest son for the situation to which I aspired.

I possessed at this time but one book in the world: it was a treatise on algebra, given to me by a young woman, who had found it in a lodging-house. I considered it as a treasure; but it was a treasure locked up; for it supposed the reader to be well acquainted with simple equation, and I knew nothing of the matter. My master's son had purchased "Fenning's Introduction:" this was precisely what I wanted; but he carefully concealed it from me, and I was indebted to chance alone for stumbling upon his hiding-place. I sat up for the greatest part of several nights successively, and, before he suspected that his treatise was discovered, had completely mastered it. I could now enter upon my own; and that carried me pretty far into the science.

This was not done without difficulty. I had not a farthing on earth, nor a friend to give me one: pen, ink, and paper, therefore (in despite of the flippant remark of lord Orford), were, for the most part, as completely out of my reach as a crown and sceptre. There was, indeed, a resource; but the utmost caution and secrecy were necessary in applying to it. I beat out pieces of leather as smooth as possible, and wrought my problems on them with a blunted awl; for the rest, my memory was tenacious, and I could multiply and divide by it to a great extent.

Hitherto I had not so much as dreamed of poetry: indeed I scarcely knew it by name; and whatever may be said of the force of nature, I certainly never "lisp'd in numbers." I recollect the occasion of my first attempt: it is, like all the rest of my non-adventures, of so unimportant a nature, that I should blush to call the attention of the idlest reader to it, but for the reason alleged in the introductory paragraph. A person, whose name escapes me, had undertaken to paint a sign for an ale-house: it was to have been a lion, but the unfortunate artist produced a dog. On

this awkward affair, one of my acquaintance wrote a copy of what we called verse: I liked it; but fancied I could compose something more to the purpose: I made the experiment, and by the unanimous suffrage of my shopmates, was allowed to have succeeded. Notwithstanding this encouragement, I thought no more of verse, till another occurrence, as trifling as the former, furnished me with a fresh subject: and thus I went on, till I had got together about a dozen of them. Certainly, nothing on earth was ever so deplorable: such as they were, however, they were talked of in my little circle, and I was sometimes invited to repeat them even out of it. I never committed a line to paper, for two reasons; first, because I had no paper; and secondly—perhaps I might be excused from going farther; but in truth I was afraid, as my master had already threatened me, for inadvertently hitching the name of one of his customers into a rhyme.

The repetitions of which I speak were always attended with applause, and sometimes with favours more substantial: little collections were now and then made, and I have received sixpence in an evening. To one who had long lived in the absolute want of money, such a resource seemed a Peruvian mine: I furnished myself by degrees with paper, &c., and what was of more importance, with books of geometry, and of the higher branches of algebra, which I cautiously concealed. Poetry, even at this time, was no amusement of mine: it was subservient to other purposes; and I only had recourse to it when I wanted money for my mathematical pursuits.

But the clouds were gathering fast. My master's anger was raised to a terrible pitch by my indifference to his concerns, and still more by the reports which were daily brought to him of my presumptuous attempts at versification. I was required to give up my papers, and when I refused, my garret was searched, and my little hoard of books discovered and removed,

and all future repetitions prohibited in the strictest manner.

This was a very severe stroke, and I felt it most sensibly : it was followed by another, severer still ; a stroke which crushed the hopes I had so long and so fondly cherished, and resigned me at once to despair. Mr Hugh Smerdon, on succeeding whom I had calculated, died, and was succeeded by a person not much older than myself, and certainly not so well qualified for the situation.

I look back on that part of my life which immediately followed this event, with little satisfaction ; it was a period of gloom and savage unsociability : by degrees I sunk into a kind of corporeal torpor ; or, if roused into activity by the spirit of youth, wasted the exertion in splenetic and vexatious tricks, which alienated the few acquaintances which compassion had yet left me. So I crept on in silent discontent, unfriended and unpitied ; indignant at the present, careless of the future, an object at once of apprehension and dislike.

From this state of abjectness I was raised by a young woman of my own class. She was a neighbour ; and whenever I took my solitary walk, with my "Wolfius" in my pocket, she usually came to the door, and by a smile, or a short question, put in the friendliest manner, endeavoured to solicit my attention. My heart had been long shut to kindness, but the sentiment was not dead in me : it revived at the first encouraging word ; and the gratitude I felt for it was the first pleasing sensation which I had ventured to entertain for many dreary months.

Together with gratitude, hope, and other passions still more enlivening, took place of that uncomfortable gloominess which so lately possessed me : I returned to my companions, and by every winning art in my power strove to make them forget my former repulsive ways. In this I was not unsuccessful ; I

recovered their good will, and by degrees grew to be somewhat of a favourite.

My master still murmured, for the business of the shop went on no better than before : I comforted myself, however, with the reflection that my apprenticeship was drawing to a conclusion, when I determined to renounce the employment for ever, and to open a private school.

In this humble and obscure state, poor beyond the common lot, yet flattering my ambition with day-dreams which perhaps would never have been realized, I was found in the 20th year of my age by Mr William Cookesley, a name never to be pronounced by me without veneration. The lamentable doggerel which I have already mentioned, and which had passed from mouth to mouth among people of my own degree, had by some accident or other reached his ear, and given him a curiosity to inquire after the author.

It was my good fortune to interest his benevolence. My little history was not untinged with melancholy, and I laid it fairly before him : his first care was to console ; his second, which he cherished to the last moment of his existence, was to relieve and support me.

Mr Cookesley was not rich : his eminence in his profession, which was that of a surgeon, procured him, indeed, much employment ; but in a country town men of science are not the most liberally rewarded : he had, besides, a very numerous family, which left him little for the purposes of general benevolence : that little, however, was cheerfully bestowed, and his activity and zeal were always at hand to supply the deficiencies of his fortune.

On examining into the nature of my literary attainments, he found them absolutely nothing : he heard, however, with equal surprise and pleasure, that amidst the grossest ignorance of books, I had made a very considerable progress in the mathematics. He engaged me to enter into the details of this affair ;

and when he learned that I had made it in circumstances of peculiar discouragement, he became more warmly interested in my favour, as he now saw a possibility of serving me.

The plan that occurred to him was naturally that which had so often suggested itself to me. There were indeed several obstacles to be overcome: I had eighteen months yet to serve; my handwriting was bad, and my language very incorrect; but nothing could slacken the zeal of this excellent man; he procured a few of my poor attempts at rhyme, dispersed them amongst his friends and acquaintance, and, when my name was become somewhat familiar to them, set on foot a subscription for my relief. I still preserve the original paper; its title was not very magnificent, though it exceeded the most sanguine wishes of my heart: it ran thus, "A subscription for purchasing the remainder of the time of William Gifford, and for enabling him to improve himself in writing and English grammar." Few contributed more than five shillings, and none went beyond ten-and-sixpence: enough, however, was collected to free me from my apprenticeship,\* and to maintain me for a few months, during which I assiduously attended the Rev. Thomas Smerdon.

At the expiration of this period it was found that my progress (for I will speak the truth in modesty) had been more considerable than my patrons expected: I had also written in the interim several little pieces of poetry, less rugged, I suppose, than my former ones, and certainly with fewer anomalies of language. My preceptor, too, spoke favourably of me; and my benefactor, who was now become my father and my friend, had little difficulty in persuading my patrons to renew their donations, and to continue me at school for another year. Such liberality was not lost upon me; I grew anxious to make the best return in

\* The sum my master received was six pounds.

my power, and I redoubled my diligence. Now that I am sunk into indolence, I look back with some degree of scepticism to the exertions of that period.

In two years and two months from the day of my emancipation, I was pronounced by Mr Smerdon fit for the University. The plan of opening a writing school had been abandoned almost from the first; and Mr Cookesley looked round for some one who had interest enough to procure me some little office at Oxford. This person, who was soon found, was Thomas Taylor, esq. of Denbury, a gentleman to whom I had already been indebted for much liberal and friendly support. He procured me the place of Bib. Lect. at Exeter College; and this, with such occasional assistance from the country as Mr Cookesley undertook to provide, was thought sufficient to enable me to live, at least till I had taken a degree.

During my attendance on Mr Smerdon I had written, as I observed before, several tuneful trifles; some as exercises, others voluntarily, (for poetry was now become my delight,) and not a few at the desire of my friends.\* When I became capable, however, of reading Latin and Greek with some degree of facility, that gentleman employed all my leisure hours in translations from the classics; and indeed I scarcely know a single school-book, of which I did not render

\* As I have republished one of our old poets, it may be allowable to mention that my predilection for the drama began at an early period. Before I left school, I had written two tragedies, the Oracle and the Italian.

My qualifications for this branch of the art may be easily appreciated; and, indeed, I cannot think of them without a smile. These rhapsodies were placed by an indulgent friend, who thought well of them, in the hands of two respectable gentlemen, who undertook to convey them to the manager of ——. I am ignorant of their fate. The death of Mr Cookesley broke every link of my connection with the majority of my subscribers, and when subsequent events enabled me to renew them, I was ashamed to inquire after what was most probably unworthy of concern.



some portion into English verse. Among others, Juvenal engaged my attention, or rather my master's, and I translated the tenth satire for a holiday task. Mr Smerdon was much pleased with this, (I was not undelighted with it myself,) and as I now became fond of the author, he easily persuaded me to proceed with him; and I translated in succession the third, the fourth, the twelfth, and, I think, the eighth satires. As I had no end in view but that of giving a temporary satisfaction to my benefactors, I thought little more of these, than of many other things of the same nature, which I wrote from time to time, and of which I never copied a single line.

On my removing to Exeter College, however, my friend, ever attentive to my concerns, advised me to copy my translation of the tenth satire, and present it, on my arrival, to the Rev. Dr Stinton, (afterwards rector,) to whom Mr Taylor had given me an introductory letter: I did so, and it was kindly received. Thus encouraged, I took up the first and second satires, (I mention them in the order they were translated) when my friend, who had sedulously watched my progress, first started the idea of going through the whole, and publishing it by subscription, as a scheme for increasing my means of subsistence. To this I readily acceded, and finished the thirteenth, eleventh, and fifteenth satires: the remainder were the work of a much later period.

When I had got thus far, we thought it a fit time to mention our design; it was very generally approved of by my friends, and on the first of January 1781, the subscription was opened by Mr Cookesley at Ashburton, and by myself at Exeter College.

So bold an undertaking so precipitately announced, will give the reader, I fear, a higher opinion of my conceit than of my talents; neither the one nor the other, however, had the smallest concern with the business, which originated solely in ignorance: I wrote verses with great facility, and I was simple

enough to imagine that little more was necessary for a translator of Juvenal! I was not, indeed, unconscious of my inaccuracies: I knew that they were numerous, and that I had need of some friendly eye to point them out, and some judicious hand to rectify them: but for these, as well as for everything else, I looked to Mr Cookesley, and that worthy man, with his usual alacrity of kindness, undertook the laborious task of revising the whole translation. My friend was no great Latinist, perhaps I was the better of the two; but he had taste and judgment, which I wanted. What advantages might have been ultimately derived from them, there was unhappily no opportunity of ascertaining, as it pleased the Almighty to call him to himself by a sudden death, before we had quite finished the first satire. He died with a letter of mine unopened in his hands.

This event, which took place on the 15th of January 1781, afflicted me beyond measure.\* I was not only deprived of a most faithful and affectionate friend, but of a zealous and ever active protector, on whom I confidently relied for support: the sums that were still necessary for me, he always collected; and it was to be feared that the assistance which was not solicited with warmth would insensibly cease to be afforded.

In many instances this was actually the case: the desertion, however, was not general; and I was encouraged to hope, by the unexpected friendship of Servington Savery, a gentleman who voluntarily stood forth as my patron, and watched over my interests with kindness and attention.

Some time before Mr Cookesley's death, we had

\* I began this unadorned narrative on the 15th of January 1801: twenty years have therefore elapsed since I lost my benefactor and my friend. In the interval I have wept a thousand times at the recollection of his goodness; I yet cherish his memory with filial respect; and at this distant period my heart sinks within me at every repetition of his name.

agreed that it would be proper to deliver out, with the terms of subscription, a specimen of the manner in which the translation was executed.\* To obviate any idea of selection, a sheet was accordingly taken from the beginning of the first satire. My friend died while it was in the press.

After a few melancholy weeks, I resumed the translation, but found myself utterly incapable of proceeding. I had been so accustomed to connect the name of Mr Cookesley with every part of it, and I laboured with such delight in the hope of giving him pleasure, that now, when he appeared to have left me in the midst of my enterprise, and I was abandoned to my own efforts, I seemed to be engaged in a hopeless struggle, without motive or end; and his idea, which was perpetually recurring to me, brought such bitter anguish with it, that I shut up the work with feelings bordering on distraction.

To relieve my mind, I had recourse to other pursuits. I endeavoured to become more intimately acquainted with the classics, and to acquire some of the modern languages: by permission too, or rather recommendation, of the rector and fellows, I also undertook the care of a few pupils; this removed much of my anxiety respecting my future means of support. I have a heartfelt pleasure in mentioning this indulgence of my college: it could arise from nothing but the liberal desire, inherent, I think, in the members of both our universities, to encourage every thing that bears even the most distant resemblance to talents; for I had no claims on them from any particular exertions.

\* Many of these papers were distributed; the terms, which I extract from one of them, were these:

“The work shall be printed in quarto, (without notes,) and be delivered to the subscribers in the month of December next.

“The price will be seven shillings in boards, half to be paid at the time of subscribing, the remainder on delivery of the book.”

The lapse of many months had now soothed and tranquillized my mind, and I once more returned to the translation, to which a wish to serve a young man surrounded with difficulties had induced a number of respectable characters to set their names; but alas, what a mortification! I now discovered, for the first time, that my own inexperience, and the advice of my too, too partial friend, had engaged me in a work, for the due execution of which my literary attainments were by no means sufficient. Errors and misconceptions appeared in every page. I had, perhaps, caught something of the spirit of Juvenal, but his meaning had frequently escaped me, and I saw the necessity of a long and painful revision, which would carry me far beyond the period fixed for the appearance of the volume. Alarmed at the prospect, I instantly resolved (if not wisely, yet I trust honestly,) to renounce the publication for the present.

In pursuance of this resolution, I wrote to my friend in the country, (the Rev. Servington Savery,) requesting him to return the subscription-money in his hands to the subscribers. He did not approve of my plan; nevertheless he promised, in a letter which now lies before me, to comply with it; and, in a subsequent one, added that he had already begun to do so.

For myself, I also made several repayments; and trusted a sum of money to make others with a fellow collegian, who, not long after, fell by his own hands in the presence of his father. But there were still some whose abode could not be discovered, and others, on whom to press the taking back of eight shillings would neither be decent nor respectful: even from these I ventured to flatter myself that I should find pardon, when on some future day I should present them with the work, (which I was still secretly determined to complete,) rendered more worthy of their patronage, and increased by notes, which I now

perceived to be absolutely necessary, to more than double its proposed size.

In the leisure of a country residence, I imagined that this might be done in two years; perhaps I was not too sanguine: the experiment, however, was not made, for about this time a circumstance happened, which changed my views, and indeed my whole system of life.

I had contracted an acquaintance with a person of the name of——, recommended to my particular notice by a gentleman of Devonshire, whom I was proud of an opportunity to oblige. This person's residence at Oxford was not long, and when he returned to town I maintained a correspondence with him by letters. At his particular request, these were inclosed in covers, and sent to lord Grosvenor: one day I inadvertently omitted the direction, and his lordship, necessarily supposing the letter to be meant for himself, opened and read it. There was something in it which attracted his notice; and when he gave it to my friend he had the curiosity to inquire about his correspondent at Oxford; and upon the answer he received, the kindness to desire that he might be brought to see him upon his coming to town: to this circumstance, purely accidental on all sides, and to this alone, I owe my introduction to that nobleman.

On my first visit, he asked me what friends I had, and what were my prospects in life; and I told him that I had no friends, and no prospects of any kind. He said no more; but when I called to take leave, previous to returning to college, I found that this simple exposure of my circumstances had sunk deep into his mind. At parting, he informed me that he charged himself with my present support and future establishment; and that till this last could be effected to my wish, I should come and reside with him. These were not words of course: they were more than fulfilled in every point. I did go and reside

with him; and I experienced a warm and cordial reception, a kind and affectionate esteem, that has known neither diminution nor interruption from that hour to this, a period of twenty years!\*

In his lordship's house I proceeded with Juvenal, till I was called upon to accompany his son (one of the most amiable and accomplished young noblemen that this country, fertile in such characters, could ever boast) to the continent. With him, in two successive tours, I spent many years; years of which the remembrances will always be dear to me, from the recollection that a friendship was then contracted, which time and a more intimate knowledge of each other, have mellowed into a regard that forms at once the pride and happiness of my life.

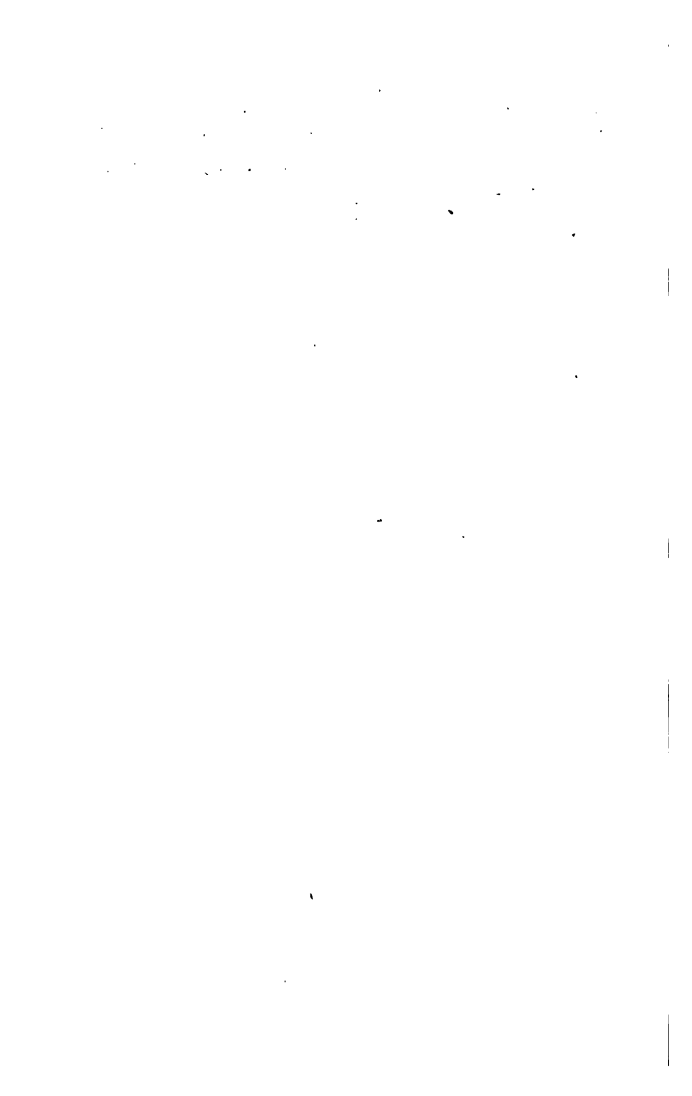
It is long since I have been returned and settled in the bosom of competence and peace; my translation frequently engaged my thoughts, but I had lost the ardour and the confidence of youth, and was seriously doubtful of my abilities to do it justice. I have wished a thousand times that I could decline it altogether; but the ever-recurring idea that there were people of the description already mentioned, who had just and forcible claims on me for the due performance of my engagement, forbad the thought; and I slowly proceeded towards the completion of a work in which I should never have engaged, had my friend's inexperience, or my own, suffered us to suspect for a

\* I have a melancholy satisfaction in recording that this revered friend and patron lived to witness my grateful acknowledgment of his kindness. He survived the appearance of the translation but a very few days, and I paid the last sad duty to his memory, by attending his remains to the grave. To me—this laborious work has not been happy; the same disastrous event that marked its commencement, has embittered its conclusion; and frequently forced upon my recollection the calamity of the rebuilder of Jericho, "He laid the foundation thereof in Abiram, his first born, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son, Segub."—1806.

moment the labour, and the talents of more than one kind, absolutely necessary to its success in any tolerable degree. Such as I could make it, it is now before the public.

——— *majora canamus.*

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# SEQUEL

TO THE

## MEMOIR OF WILLIAM GIFFORD.

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THE subsequent life of the author of the foregoing interesting narrative, although doubtless possessing an abundance of literary anecdote and incident of considerable interest, had it been autobiographically continued, supplies little material for narrative in the usual form. During his residence with earl Grosvenor, Mr Gifford seems to have been principally occupied in his translation of Juvenal, which was, however, preceded in publication by his well known 'Baviad,' a paraphrase on the first satire of Persius, which appeared in 1794. This poem, the first which called him into general notice, was directed against the Della Crusca school of poetasters, so called from the late Robert Merry, who adopted that signature, and in conjunction with Mrs Piozzi, Miles Peter Andrews, Mr Parsons, Mrs Robinson, and a few more of both sexes, inundated the newspapers and periodicals with scraps of verses, in which a mass of tawdry affectation and false feeling was but inadequately atoned for by a few occasional gleams of imagination and pathos. As the members of this confederacy, besides assuming a spirit of literary dictation, were in the habit of heaping the most fulsome flattery upon each other, nothing could form fairer game for satire. It has been questioned, however, whether the folly of

this harmless class required all the caustic severity which, in this instance, it extorted; and the rude personality of the satirist towards those of the softer sex, in particular, has been thought more indicative of the deficiency in courtesy and refinement which might be expected from his early disadvantages, than of his residence in a nobleman's house, in which woman notoriously engrossed a very large share of attention. In 1794 appeared the 'Mæviad,' a satire of the same class, in imitation of the tenth satire of the first book of Horace; in which, although equally personal, he is certainly less unnecessarily virulent. Following up a line of composition so congenial with his temper and talents, he published in 1800 his 'Epistle to Peter Pindar,' an attack which brought him little beyond disquiet; the laughter of the one satirist being quite as formidable as the gall of the other. Wolcot was also an unscrupulous man, and could advert to the personal character of patrons as well as clients, and suggest motives and employments, in a species of banter between jest and earnest, of a more annoying nature than even direct accusation. In 1802, Mr Gifford sent out his principal work, his English version of Juvenal, which production engrossed the greater part of his life, received the correction of his friends, and was sent into the world with every possible advantage, headed by a dedication to the late earl Grosvenor, "with admiration of his talents and virtues." It is a spirited and able translation, although occasionally diffuse and inharmonious, and not unfrequently coarse in its phraseology and diction. As already observed, it was to this publication he prefixed the very pleasing Memoir which has entitled him to a place in this collection. Contemporaneously with his publication of the 'Baviad' and 'Mæviad,' Mr Gifford became editor of the 'Anti-Jacobin;' which periodical, however well known in its day, is now chiefly remembered as the periodical vehicle of the polished, keen, and playful

wit of Messrs Canning, Ellis, and Frere. The most remarkable circumstance attendant upon this part of the political partizanship of Mr Gifford consists in the fact, that much of the satire which he thus conducted was levelled at men who have since become his co-adjutors, and whom he has been subsequently called upon to support against the ridicule which is so justly due to writers who embrace the two extremes of opinion, and are equally intolerant in both of them. In 1805, he published his edition of Massinger, an able performance, but exhibiting his usual acerbity in respect to the failures of former commentators; on whom, although long deceased, he vents nearly as much indignation as upon the butterfly Della Cruscan. In 1816, he gave to the world his edition of Ben Jonson, in 9 vols. 8vo., in his annotations on whom, he exhibits the same acuteness and industry as in Massinger, and ably and successfully defends his author from charges of illiberal disposition towards Shakspeare, and other calumnies, which, resting on little original foundation, had been carelessly copied by one commentator from another. His version of Persius did not make its appearance until 1821, since which date, in addition to his labours as editor of the 'Quarterly Review,' he completed an edition of the plays of Ford, and commenced the dramas of Shirley, which were nearly finished at the time of his decease.

When the success of the 'Edinburgh Review,' on a new and searching plan of political and critical severity, suggested the notion of a counterpoise in a journal of similar pretension, but of opposing party opinions, under the title of the 'Quarterly Review,' Mr Gifford, who is said to have proposed the undertaking, was intrusted with its management. The experiment was tried, and being countenanced by the side in power, by a considerable portion of clerical influence, by liberal conduct in a pecuniary sense, and by an able list of contributors, it is unnecessary to

say that it fully succeeded. From this time, the influence and celebrity of Mr Gifford may be deemed established; nor were his services as a party man forgotten by those who could reward them, as he possessed what may be deemed two sinecures, being comptroller of the lottery, at a salary of 600*l.* per annum, and paymaster of the band of Gentlemen Pensioners, at 300*l.* per annum. Such, however, being the usual reward of party services, no particular remark can be made on the gift of them to so long and consistent an adherent as Mr Gifford. What is chiefly to be regretted in his conduct as editor of the 'Quarterly Review,' was the inexcusable fault of judging every species of composition by the known or presumed politics of the author. However that might be supported by precedent, in regard to works more or less connected with political opinions, it had seldom before been extended to productions of every class, on the principle of a literary proscription. No man had a finer tact in the discovery of the bad or weak points of a writer, when it was an object to run down, or could expose them to ridicule and reprobation with more acrimonious felicity. Whatever the merit, design, or subject of a work, if its author were known to be of opposing principles or opinions to those supported in the review, it had to encounter the ordeal of this perverse and dishonest ingenuity. On such occasions, every little error, slip, or inaccuracy, was selected for display; every beauty concealed; the general design and scope of the writer either disguised or omitted; and the whole of a really promising or meritorious performance treated as if it were one chaos of error or defect. Some striking examples of this injustice did not seem to heighten either the critical or moral character of Mr Gifford, while living; and connected with more than one interesting anecdote and stinging exposure, they will be long remembered to his disadvantage now that he is no more.

Some extraordinary forbearance, on the other hand, towards powerful and profitable connections of the offending stamp, give additional unpleasing features to this unfairness; \* and while truth and candour must allow the original editor of the Quarterly Review to have been an acute and able critic, few can regard him as a just or conscientious one. Warm partizans on the same side may indeed be gratified by this sort of disingenuous warfare, but it requires no extraordinary progress in morals and casuistry to determine, that a critical inquisition of this description is a monstrous species of intolerance; and that the transformation of the literary merits of opposing opinionists on all occasions into sins, whether mean or splendid, however common, *ex cathedra*, is a very impudent usurpation in the republic of letters. For the rest, if not a profound thinker, or very widely learned, our critic was exceedingly apt and ready; and he was possibly the more fitted on that account to exercise the robust common sense which was his principal characteristic, in the detection of all deviations from the beaten and acknowledged tracks of thought. On every occasion these seemed to alarm him, and no man could be more admirably adapted by disposition to become the literary whipper-in of authority which he constituted himself.

Besides the works already mentioned, Mr Gifford was the author of a few pleasing poems, one of which, commencing "I wish I was where Anna lies," although a loan both in thought and expression, has been generally and deservedly admired. He was not, however, a poet in the more lofty and imaginative sense of the term; and although he gifts himself with the

\* The Moral Bookseller got the contraband effusions of genius printed under another name; the Moral Critic forbore to castigate them as belonging to the Moral Bookseller; but an innate reverence for *lords*, (a natural result possibly of early lowness,) could temper even the bile of the Aristarchus of the Quarterly Review.

power of "no inglorious song," he could scarcely aspire to be deemed so. Looking at his origin, and primitive disadvantages, William Gifford must, nevertheless, be always regarded as a highly-gifted and extraordinary man: and the history of his life affords another memorable example of the occasional mastery with which strong natural powers can free themselves from the trammels of untoward circumstances, and acquire the pre-eminence which is justly due to them.

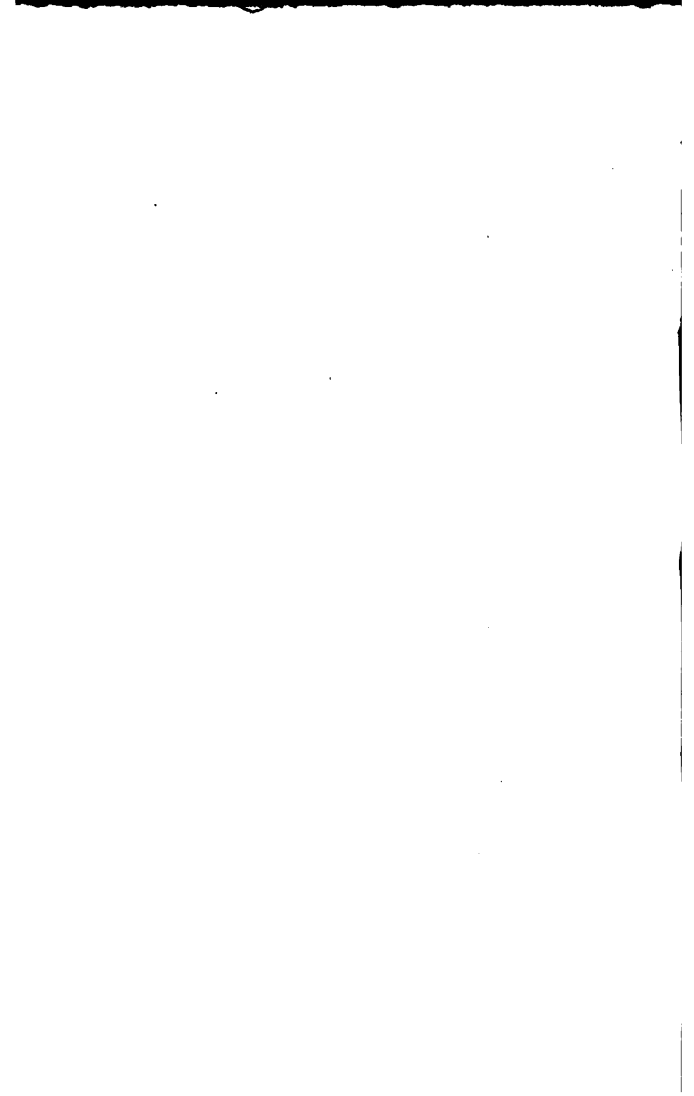
The death of this literary veteran took place on Sunday, the 31st December 1826, at his house in James street, near Buckingham gate, Westminster, being then in his seventy-first year. Having for many years received a salary of 1500*l.* per annum as editor of the Quarterly Review, that income, added to his sinecures, and the remuneration received for his various literary labours, and a pension, it is said, of 400*l.* per annum from his former pupil, earl Grosvenor, enabled him to die rich. His chief legatee is said to be Dr Ireland, dean of Westminster, a bosom friend of many years standing, and the confidential depository of his latest wishes. To the same reverend gentleman he also bequeathed his valuable library; and it is not impossible, that, from a quarter so capable, both as to information and ability, the world may be, sooner or later, favoured with the biography of an individual, whose intimate connection with the world of literature of his own day, supposing the sources of intelligence to be genuine and ample, can scarcely fail to render his memoirs interesting.

THE END.

LONDON:

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**THE HISTORY**  
**OF**  
**THE LIFE**  
**OF**  
**THOMAS ELLWOOD:**

**WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.**

**"By faith the elders obtained a good report."**

*Hebrews, xi. 2.*

**LONDON:**  
**WHITTAKER, TREACHER, AND ARNOT,**  
**AVE-MARIA-LANE.**

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**MDCCCXXIX.**



## INTRODUCTION.

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THE autobiography of THOMAS ELLWOOD would deserve a place in this collection were it nothing more than unsophisticated record of the operation of a new principle of faith and conscience upon an ingenuous and enthusiastic mind. Its claim upon the attention of the student of human character in all its diversities, is, however, much enhanced by the proofs which it affords of the folly and cruelty of religious persecution, as well as by much curious matter in illustration of the early progress and proceedings of the remarkable body to whom the writer belonged. Like William Penn, a gentleman by birth, and brought up in notions altogether repugnant to the new doctrines which he embraced, the rapid and decided manner in which he appears to have made up his mind, and his conscientious encounter of the difficulties and hardships which ensued from parental anger, and consequent poverty, render Ellwood

a highly interesting character. Nor is that interest at all decreased by the harmless and unconscious vanity which now and then pervades the narrative in respect to the author's argumentative and poetical powers. The temporary connexion of Ellwood with the poet Milton also, and the curious fact that a casual remark of his led to the production of "Paradise Regained," give additional value to a fragment so essentially characteristic.

# THE LIFE

OF

## THOMAS ELLWOOD.

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ALTHOUGH my station, from not being so eminent either in the church of Christ or in the world, as that of others who have moved in higher orbs, may not afford such considerable remarks as theirs; yet, inasmuch as in the course of my travels through this vale of tears, I have passed through various, and some uncommon exercises, which the Lord hath been graciously pleased to support me under, and conduct me through, I hold it a matter excusable at least, if not commendable, to give the world some little account of my life, that, in recounting the many deliverances and preservations, which the Lord hath vouchsafed to work for me, both I, by a grateful acknowledgment thereof, and return thanksgivings unto Him therefor, may in some measure set forth his abundant goodness to me; and others, whose lot it may be to tread the same path, and fall into the same or like exercises, may be encouraged to persevere in the way of holiness, and, with full assurance of mind, to trust in the Lord, whatsoever trials may befall them.

To begin therefore with mine own beginning, I was born in the year of our Lord 1639, about the beginning of the eighth month, so far as I have been able

to inform myself; for the parish register, which relates to the time, not of birth, but of baptism, as they call it, is not to be relied on.

The place of my birth was a little country town called Crowell, situate in the upper side of Oxfordshire, three miles eastward from Thame, the nearest market town. My father's name was Walter Ellwood, and my mother's maiden name was Elizabeth Potman; they were both well descended, but of declining families. So that what my father possessed, which was a pretty estate in lands, and more as I have heard in monies, he received, as he had done his name Walter, from his grandfather Walter Gray, whose daughter and only child was his mother.

In my very infancy, when I was but about two years old, I was carried to London. For the civil war between the king and parliament then breaking forth, my father, who favoured the parliament side, though he took not arms, not holding himself safe at his country habitation, which lay too near some garrisons of the king's, betook himself to London, that city then holding for the parliament. There was I bred up, though not without much difficulty, the city air not agreeing with my tender constitution; and there I continued until Oxford was surrendered, and the war in appearance ended.

In this time my parents contracted an acquaintance and intimate friendship with the lady Springett, then the widow of sir William Springett, who died in the parliament service, and afterwards the wife of Isaac Penington, eldest son of alderman Penington, of London. And this friendship devolving from the parents to the children, I became an early and particular play-fellow to her daughter Gulielma; being admitted as such to ride with her in her little coach, drawn by her footman about Lincoln's-inn-fields. I mention this in this place, because the continuation of that acquaintance and friendship having been an occasional means of my being afterwards brought to the knowledge of

the blessed Truth, I shall have frequent cause, in the course of the following discourse, to make honourable mention of that family, to which I am under so many and great obligations.

Soon after the surrender of Oxford, my father returned to his estate at Crowell; which by that time he might have need to look after, having spent, I suppose, the greatest part of the monies which had been left him by his grandfather, in maintaining himself and his family at a high rate in London.

My elder brother (for I had one brother and two sisters, all elder than myself) was, while we lived in London, boarded at a private school, in the house of one Francis Atkinson, at a place called Hadley, near Barnet, in Hertfordshire, where he had made some good proficiency in the Latin and French tongues. But after we had left the city, and were re-settled in the country, he was taken from that private school, and sent to the free-school at Thame in Oxfordshire. Thither also was I sent, as soon as my tender age would permit; for I was indeed but young when I went, and yet seemed younger than I was, by reason of my low and little stature. For it was held, for some years, a doubtful point, whether I should not have proved a dwarf: but after I was arrived to the fifteenth year of my age, or thereabouts, I began to shoot up, and gave not up growing till I had attained the middle size and stature of men.

At this school, which at that time was in good reputation, I profited apace, having then a natural propensity to learning; so that at the first reading over of my lesson, I commonly made myself master of it: and yet, which is strange to think of, few boys in the school wore out more birch than I. For though I was never, that I remember, whipped upon the score of not having my lesson ready, or of not saying it well, yet being a little busy boy, full of spirit; of a working head and active hand, I could not easily conform myself to the grave and sober rules;

and, as I then thought, severe orders of the school; but was often playing one waggish prank or other among my school-fellows, which subjected me to correction, so that I have come under the discipline of the rod twice in a forenoon; which yet brake no bones.

Had I been continued at this school, and in due time preferred to a higher, I might in likelihood have been a scholar; for I was observed to have a genius apt to learn. But my father having, so soon as the republican government began to settle, accepted the office of a justice of the peace, (which was no way beneficial, but merely honorary, and every way expensive,) and put himself into a port and course of living agreeable thereunto; and having also removed my brother from Thame school to Merton College in Oxford, and entered him there in the highest and most chargeable condition of a fellow-commoner, he found it needful to retrench his expenses elsewhere, the hurt of which fell upon me. For he thereupon took me from school, to save the charge of maintaining me there; which was somewhat like plucking green fruit from the tree, and laying it by before it was come to its due ripeness, which will thenceforth shrink and wither, and lose that little juice and relish which it began to have.

Even so it fared with me: for being taken home when I was but young, and before I was well settled in my studies, (though I had made a good progress in the Latin tongue, and was entered on the Greek,) being left too much to myself, to ply or play with my books, or without them, as I pleased, I soon shook hands with my books, by shaking my books out of my hands, and laying them, by degrees, quite aside; and addicted myself to such youthful sports and pleasures as the place afforded, and my condition could reach unto. By this means, in a little time, I began to lose that little learning I had acquired at school; and, by a continued disuse of my books, became at length so utterly a stranger to learning, that I could not have read,



far less have understood, a sentence in Latin : which I was so sensible of, that I warily avoided reading to others, even in an English book, lest, if I should meet with a Latin word, I should shame myself by mispronouncing it.

Thus I went on, taking my swing in such vain courses as were accounted harmless recreations, entertaining my companions and familiar acquaintance with pleasant discourses in our conversations, by the mere force of mother-wit and natural parts, without the help of school cultivation ; and was accounted good company too.

But I always sorted myself with persons of ingenuity, temperance, and sobriety ; for I loathed scurrilities in conversation, and had a natural aversion to immoderate drinking. So that, in the time of my greatest vanity, I was preserved from profaneness, and the grosser evils of the world ; which rendered me acceptable to persons of the best note in that country then. I often waited on the lord Wenman, at his house, Thame park, about two miles from Crowell, where I lived ; to whose favour I held myself entitled in a twofold respect, both as my mother was nearly related to his lady, and as he had been pleased to bestow his name upon me, when he made large promises for me at the font. He was a person of great honour and virtue, and always gave me a kind reception at his table, how often soever I came. And I have cause to think, I should have received from this lord some advantageous preferment in this world, as soon as he had found me capable of it, (though betwixt him and my father there was not then so good an understanding as might have been wished) had I not been in a little time after called into the service of the best and highest Lord ; and thereby lost the favour of all my friends, relations, and acquaintance of this world. To the account of which most happy exchange I hasten, and therefore willingly pass over many particulars of my youthful life. Yet one passage I am

willing to mention, for the effect it had upon me afterwards, which was thus:—

My father being then in the commission of the peace, and going to a petty sessions at Watlington, I waited on him thither. And when we came near the town, the coachman seeing a nearer and easier way than the common road, through a corn-field, and that it was wide enough for the wheels to run, without damaging the corn, turned down there; which being observed by a husbandman who was at plough not far off, he ran to us, and, stopping the coach, poured forth a mouthful of complaints, in none of the best language, for driving over the corn. My father mildly answered him, that if there was an offence committed, he must rather impute it to his servant than himself, since he neither directed him to drive that way, nor knew which way he drove. Yet added, that he was going to such an inn at the town, whither if he came he would make him full satisfaction for whatsoever damage he had sustained thereby. And so on we went, the man venting his discontent, as he went back, in angry accents. At the town, upon inquiry, we understood that it was a way often used, and without damage, being broad enough; but that it was not the common road, which yet lay not far from it, and was also good enough; wherefore my father bid his man drive home that way.

It was late in the evening when we returned, and very dark; and this quarrelsome man who had troubled himself and us in the morning, having gotten another lusty fellow like himself to assist him, waylaid us in the night, expecting we should return the same way we came: but when they found we did not, but took the common way, they, angry that they were disappointed, and loth to lose their purpose, (which was to put an abuse upon us) coasted over to us in the dark, and laying hold on the horses' bridles, stopped them from going on. My father asking his man what the reason was that he went not on, was

answered, that there were two men at the horses' heads, who held them back, and would not suffer them to go forward. Whereupon my father opening the boot, stepped out, and I followed close at his heels. Going up to the place where the men stood, he demanded of them the reason of this assault. They said we were upon the corn. We knew by the ruts we were not on the corn, but in the common way, and told them so; but they told us they were resolved they would not let us go on any farther, but would make us go back again. My father endeavoured by gentle reasoning to persuade them to forbear, and not run themselves farther into the danger of the law, which they were run too far already; but they rather derided him for it. Seeing, therefore, fair means would not work upon them, he spake more roughly to them, charging them to deliver their clubs (for each of them had a great club in his hand, somewhat like those which are called quarter-staves); they thereupon, laughing, told him, they did not bring them thither for that end. Thereupon my father, turning his head to me, said, "Tom, disarm them."

I stood ready at his elbow, waiting only for the word of command; for being naturally of a bold spirit, full then of youthful heat, and that too heightened by the sense I had, not only of the abuse, but insolent behaviour of those rude fellows, my blood began to boil, and my fingers itched, as the saying is, to be dealing with them. Wherefore, stepping boldly forward to lay hold on the staff of him that was nearest to me, I said: "Sirrah, deliver your weapon." He thereupon raised his club, which was big enough to have knocked down an ox, intending, no doubt, to knock me down with it, as probably he would have done, had I not, in the twinkling of an eye, whipped out my rapier, and made a pass upon him. I could not have failed running him through up to the hilt, had he stood his ground; but the sudden and unexpected sight of my bright blade, glistening in the dark

night, did so amaze and terrify the man, that, slipping aside, he avoided my thrust; and letting his staff sink, betook himself to his heels for safety; which his companion seeing, fled also. I followed the former as fast as I could, but *Timor addidit alas*, fear gave him wings, and made him swiftly fly; so that although I was accounted very nimble, yet the farther we ran the more ground he gained on me, so that I could not overtake him, which made me think he took shelter under some bush, which he knew where to find, though I did not. Meanwhile the coachman, who had sufficiently the outside of a man, excused himself from intermeddling, under pretence that he durst not leave his horses, and so left me to shift for myself: and I was gone so far beyond my knowledge, that I understood not which way I was to go, till by halloing, and being halloed to again, I was directed where to find my company.

We had easy means to find out who these men were, the principal of them having been in the day time at the inn, and both quarrelled with the coachman, and threatened to be even with him when he went back; but since they came off no better in their attempt, my father thought it better not to know them, than to oblige himself to a prosecution of them.

At that time, and for a good while after, I had no regret upon my mind for what I had done and had designed to do in this case; but went on in a sort of bravery, resolving to kill, if I could, any man that should make the like attempt, or put any affront upon us; and for that reason seldom went afterwards upon those public services without a loaded pistol in my pocket. But when it pleased the Lord, in his infinite goodness, to call me out of the spirit and ways of the world, and give me the knowledge of his saving Truth, whereby the actions of my fore-past life were set in order before me, a sort of horror seized on me, when I considered how near I had been to the stain;

ing of my hands with human blood. And whensoever afterwards I went that way, and indeed as often since as the matter has come into my remembrance, my soul has blessed the Lord for my deliverance; and thanksgivings and praises have arisen in my heart, (as now, at the relating of it, they do,) to Him who preserved and withheld me from shedding man's blood. Which is the reason for which I have given this account of that action, that others may be warned by it.

About this time my dear and honoured mother, who was indeed a woman of singular worth and virtue, departed this life, having a little before heard of the death of her eldest son, who, falling under the displeasure of my father, for refusing to resign his interest in an estate which my father sold, and thereupon desiring that he might have leave to travel, in hopes that time and absence might work a reconciliation, went into Ireland with a person powerful there in those times, by whose means he was quickly preferred to a place of trust and profit, but lived not long to enjoy it.

I mentioned before, that during my father's abode in London, in the time of the civil wars, he contracted a friendship with the lady Springett, then a widow, and afterwards married to Isaac Penington, esq. to continue which, he sometimes visited them at their country lodgings, as at Datchet, and at Causham Lodge, near Reading. And having heard that they were come to live upon their own estate, at Chalfont, in Buckinghamshire, about fifteen miles from Crowell, he went one day to visit them there, and to return at night, taking me with him.

But very much surprised we were, when, being come thither, we first heard, then found, they were become Quakers; a people we had no knowledge of, and a name we had, till then, scarcely heard of. So great a change, from a free, debonair, and courtly sort of behaviour, which we formerly had found them in,

to so strict a gravity as they now received us with, did not a little amuse, and disappoint our expectation of such a pleasant visit as we used to have, and had now promised ourselves. Nor could my father have any opportunity, by a private conference with them, to understand the ground or occasion of this change, there being some other strangers with them, related to Isaac Penington, who came that morning from London to visit them also.

For my part, I sought, and at length found means, to cast myself into the company of the daughter, whom I found gathering some flowers in the garden, attended by her maid, who was also a Quaker. But when I addressed myself to her, after my accustomed manner, with intention to engage her in some discourse, which might introduce conversation on the foot of our former acquaintance, though she treated me with a courteous mien, yet, as young as she was, the gravity of her look and behaviour struck such an awe upon me, that I found myself not so much master of myself as to pursue any farther converse with her. Wherefore, asking pardon for my boldness, in having intruded myself into her private walks, I withdrew, not without some disorder (as I thought at least) of mind.

We staid dinner, which was very handsome, and lacked nothing to recommend it to me but the want of mirth and pleasant discourse, which we could neither have with them, nor, by reason of them, with one another amongst ourselves; the weightiness that was upon their spirits and countenances keeping down the lightness that would have been up in us. We staid, notwithstanding, till the rest of the company had taken leave of them, and then we also, doing the same, returned, not greatly satisfied with our journey, nor knowing what in particular to find fault with.

Yet this good effect that visit had upon my father, who was then in the commission for the peace, that it disposed him to a more favourable opinion of and

carriage towards those people when they came in his way, as not long after one of them did. For a young man, who lived in Buckinghamshire, came on a first-day to the church (so called) at a town called Chinner, a mile from Crowell, having, it seems, a pressure on his mind to say something to the minister of that parish. His being an acquaintance of mine, drew me sometimes to hear him, as it did then. The young man stood in the aisle before the pulpit all the time of the sermon, not speaking a word till the sermon, and prayer after it, were ended, and then spake a few words to the priest: of which all that I could hear was, that "the prayer of the wicked is abomination to the Lord," and that "God heareth not sinners." Somewhat more, I think, he did say, which I could not distinctly hear for the noise the people made; and more, probably, he would have said, had he not been interrupted by the officers, who took him into custody, and led him out in order to carry him before my father.

When I understood that, I hastened home, that I might give my father a good account of the matter before they came. I told him the young man behaved himself quietly and peaceably; spake not a word till the minister had quite done his service; and that what he then spake was but short, and was delivered without passion or ill language. This I knew would furnish my father with a fair ground whereon to discharge the man, if he would. And accordingly, when they came, and made a high complaint against the man, who said little for himself, my father having examined the officers who brought him, what the words that he spake were, (which they did not well agree in,) and at what time he spake them, (which they all agreed to be after the minister had done,) and then, whether he gave the minister any reviling language, or endeavoured to raise a tumult among the people (which they could not charge him with); not finding that he had broken the law, he

counselled the young man to be careful that he did not make or occasion any public disturbances, and so dismissed him : which I was glad of.

Some time after this, my father having gotten some further account of the people called Quakers, and being desirous to be informed concerning their principles, made another visit to Isaac Penington and his wife, at their house called the Grange, in Peter's Chalfont; and took both my sisters and me with him. It was in the tenth month, in the year 1659, that we went thither, where we found a very kind reception, and tarried some days; one day at least the longer, because, while we were there, a meeting was appointed at a place about a mile from thence, to which we were invited to go, and willingly went. It was held in a farm house called the Grove, which having formerly been a gentleman's seat, had a very large hall; and that was well filled.

To this meeting came Edward Burrough, besides other preachers, as Thomas Curtis and James Naylor, but none spake there at that time but Edward Burrough. Next to whom, as it were under him, it was my lot to sit on a stool by the side of a long table on which he sat, and I drank in his words with desire; for they not only answered my understanding, but warmed my heart with a certain heat, which I had not till then felt from the ministry of any man.

When the meeting was ended, our friends took us home with them again; and after supper, the evenings being long, the servants of the family, who were Quakers, were called in, and we all sat down in silence. But long we had not so sat, before Edward Burrough began to speak among us : and although he spake not long, yet what he said did touch, as I suppose, my father's (religious) copyhold, as the phrase is. And he having been from his youth a professor, though not joined in what is called close communion with any one sort, and valuing himself upon the knowledge he esteemed himself to have, in the various notions of



each profession, thought he had now a fair opportunity to display his knowledge, and thereupon began to make objections against what had been delivered.

The subject of the discourse was, "The universal free grace of God to all mankind." To this he opposed the Calvinistical tenet of particular and personal predestination: in defence of which indefensible notion, he found himself more at a loss than he expected. Edward Burrough said not much to him upon it, though what he said was close and cogent. But James Naylor interposing, handled the subject with so much perspicuity and clear demonstration, that his reasoning seemed to be irresistible; and so I suppose my father found it, which made him willing to drop the discourse.

As for Edward Burrough, he was a brisk young man of a ready tongue, and might have been, for ought I then knew, a scholar, which made me the less to admire his way of reasoning. But what dropped from James Naylor had the greater force upon me, because he looked but like a plain, simple countryman, having the appearance of a husbandman or a shepherd. As my father was not able to maintain the argument on his side, so neither did they seem willing to drive it on to an extremity on their side. But, treating him in a soft and gentle manner, did, after a while, let fall the discourse; and then we withdrew to our respective chambers.

The next morning we prepared to return home (that is, my father, my younger sister, and myself; for my elder sister was gone before by the stage coach to London); and when, having taken leave of our friends, we went forth, they, with Edward Burrough, accompanying us to the gate, he there directed his speech in a few words to each of us severally, according to the sense he had of our several conditions. And when we were gone off, and they gone in again, they asking him what he had thought of us, he answered them, as they afterwards told me, to this

effect:—"As for the old man, he is settled on his lees, and the young woman is light and airy; but the young man is reached, and may do well if he does not lose it." And surely that which he said to me, or rather that spirit in which he spake it, took such fast hold on me, that I felt sadness and trouble come over me, though I did not distinctly understand what I was troubled for. I knew not what I ailed, but I know I ailed something more than ordinary; and my heart was very heavy. I found it was not so with my father and sister; for, as I rode after the coach, I could hear them talk pleasantly one to the other; but they could not discern how it was with me, because I, riding on horseback, kept much out of sight.

By the time we got home it was night. And the next day, being the first day of the week, I went in the afternoon to hear the minister of Chinner; and this was the last time I ever went to hear any of that function. After the sermon I went with him to his house; and in a freedom of discourse, which, from a certain intimacy that was between us, I commonly used with him, told him where I had been, what company I had met with there, and what observations I had made to myself thereupon. He seemed to understand as little of them as I had done before, and civilly abstained from casting any unhandsome reflections on them.

I had a desire to go to another meeting of the Quakers; and bid my father's man inquire if there was any in the country thereabouts. He thereupon told me he had heard at Isaac Penington's, that there was to be a meeting at High Wycombe on Thursday next. Thither therefore I went, though it was seven miles from me. And that I might be rather thought to go out a coursing than to a meeting, I let my greyhound run by my horse's side.

When I came there, and had set up my horse at an inn, I was at a loss how to find the house where the meeting was to be. I knew it not, and was ashamed

to ask after it. Wherefore, having ordered the ostler to take care of my dog, I went into the street, and stood at the inn gate, musing with myself what course to take. But I had not stood long ere I saw a horseman riding along the street, whom I remembered I had seen before at Isaac Penington's, and he put up his horse at the same inn. Him therefore I resolved to follow, supposing he was going to the meeting, as indeed he was.

Being come to the house, which proved to be John Raunce's, I saw the people sitting together in an outer room; wherefore I stepped in and sat down on the first void seat, the end of a bench just within the door, having my sword by my side, and black clothes on, which drew some eyes upon me. It was not long ere one stood up and spake, whom I was afterwards well acquainted with; his name was Samuel Thornton; and what he spake was very suitable, and of good service to me, for it reached home as if it had been directed to me. As soon as ever the meeting was ended, and the people began to rise, I, being next the door, stepped out quickly, and, hastening to my inn, took horse immediately homewards; and, so far as I remember, my having been gone was not taken notice of by my father.

This latter meeting was like clinching of a nail, confirming and fastening in my mind those good principles which had sunk into me at the former. My understanding began to open, and I felt some stirrings in my breast, tending to the work of a new creation in me. The general trouble and confusion of mind, which had for some days lain heavy upon me, and pressed me down, without a distinct discovery of the particular cause for which it came, began now to wear off, and some glimmerings of light began to break forth in me, which let me see my inward state and condition towards God. The light, which before had shone in my darkness, and the darkness could not comprehend it, began now to shine out of dark-

ness, and in some measure discovered to me, what it was that had before clouded me, and brought that sadness to and trouble upon me. And now I saw that, although I had been, in a great degree, preserved from the common immoralities and gross pollutions of the world, yet the spirit of the world had hitherto ruled in me, and led me into pride, flattery, vanity, and superfluity, all which was nought. I found there were many plants growing in me, which were not of the Heavenly Father's planting, and that all these, of whatever sort or kind they were, or how specious soever they might appear, must be plucked up.

Now was all my former life ripped up, and my sins, by degrees, were set in order before me. And though they looked not wit hso black a hue and so deep a dye as those of the lewdest sort of people did, yet I found that all sin, even that which had the fairest and finest show, as well as that which was more coarse and foul, brought guilt, and with and for guilt, condemnation on the soul that sinned. This I felt, and was greatly bowed down under the sense thereof. Now also did I receive a new law, an inward law superadded to the outward; the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, which wrought in me against all evil, not only in deed and in word, but even in thought also; so that everything was brought to judgment, and judgment passed upon all. So that I could not any longer go on in my former ways and course of life; for when I did, judgment took hold upon me for it.

Thus the Lord was graciously pleased to deal with me, in somewhat like manner as he had dealt with his people Israel of old, when they had transgressed his righteous law; whom by his prophet he called back, required to put away the evil of their doings; bidding them first cease to do evil, then learn to do well, before he would admit them to reason with him, and before he would impart to them the effects of his free mercy.—Isaiah, i. 16, 17.

I was now required by this inward and spiritual law, the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, to put away the evil of my doings, and to cease to do evil. And what, in particulars, the evil was which I was required to put away, and to cease from, that measure of the divine light, which was now manifested in me, discovered to me; and what the light made manifest to be evil, judgment passed upon

So that here began to be a way cast up before me, for me to walk in; a direct and plain way; so plain, that a wayfaring man, how weak and simple soever, though a fool to the wisdom and in the judgment of the world, could not err while he continued to walk in it; the error coming in by his going out of it. And this way with respect to me, I saw was that measure of divine light which was manifested in me, by which the evil of my doings, which I was to put away and to cease from, was discovered to me.

By this divine light then I saw, that though I had not the evil of the common uncleanness, debauchery, profaneness, and pollutions of the world to put away, because I had, through the great goodness of God, and a civil education, been preserved out of those grosser evils; yet I had many other evils to put away, and to cease from; some of which were not by the world (which lies in wickedness.—1 John, v. 19.) accounted evils; but by the light of Christ were made manifest to me to be evils, and as such condemned in me.

As particularly, those fruits and effects of pride, that discover themselves in the vanity and superfluity of apparel; which I, as far as my ability would extend to, took, alas! too much delight in. This evil of my doings I was required to put away and cease from; and judgment lay upon me till I did so. Wherefore, in obedience to the inward law, which agreed with the outward, (1 Tim. ii. 9; 1 Pet. iii. 3; 1 Tim. vi. 8; Jam. i. 21); I took off from my apparel those unnecessary trimmings of lace, ribbands, and useless

buttons, which had no real service, but were set on only for that which was by mistake called ornament ; and I ceased to wear rings.

Again.—The giving of flattering titles to men, between whom and me there was not any relation, to which such titles could be pretended to belong :—this was an evil I had been much addicted to, and was accounted a ready artist in ; therefore, this evil also was I required to put away and cease from. So that thenceforward I durst not say, “sir,” “master,” “my lord,” “madam” (or my dame) or say, “your servant,” to any one to whom I did not stand in the real relation of a servant, which I had never done to any.

Again.—Respect of persons, in uncovering the head, and bowing the knee or body in salutations, was a practice I had been much in the use of. And this being one of the vain customs of the world, introduced by the spirit of the world, instead of the true honour, which this is a false representation of, and used in deceit, as a token of respect, by persons one to another, who bear no real respect one to another ; and, besides, this being a type and proper emblem of that divine honour which all ought to pay to Almighty God, and which all, of all sorts, who take upon them the Christian name, appear in when they offer their prayers to him, and therefore should not be given to men :—I found this to be one of those evils which I had been too long doing ; therefore I was now required to put it away, and cease from it.

Again.—The corrupt and unsound form of speaking in the plural number to a single person, *you* to one, instead of *thou* ; contrary to the pure, plain, and single language of truth, *thou* to one, and *you* to more than one ; which had always been used by God to men, and men to God, as well as one to another, from the oldest record of time, till corrupt men, for corrupt ends, in later and corrupt times, to flatter, fawn, and work upon the corrupt nature in men, brought in that false and senseless way of speaking *you* to one ; which

hath since corrupted the modern languages, and hath greatly debased the spirits, and depraved the manners of men :—this evil custom I had been as forward in as others, and this I was now called out of, and required to cease from.

These, and many more evil customs, which had sprung up in the night of darkness, and general apostacy from the truth, and true religion, were now, by the inshining of this pure ray of divine light in my conscience, gradually discovered to me to be what I ought to cease from, shun, and stand a witness against.

But so subtilly, and withal so powerfully, did the enemy work upon the weak part in me, as to persuade me that in these things I ought to make a difference between my father and all other men ; and that, therefore, though I did disuse these tokens of respect to others, yet I ought still to use them towards him, as he was my father. And so far did this wile of his prevail upon me, through a fear lest I should do amiss in withdrawing any sort of respect or honour from my father, which was due unto him, that, being thereby beguiled, I continued for a while to bemean myself in the same manner towards him, with respect both to language and gesture, as I had always done before. And as long as I did so, standing bare before him, and giving him the accustomed language, he did not express, whatever he thought, any dislike of me.

But as to myself, and the work begun in me, I found it was not enough for me to cease to do evil ; though that was a good and a great step. I had another lesson before me, which was, to learn to do well ; which I could by no means do, till I had given up, with full purpose of mind, to cease from doing evil. And when I had done that, the enemy took advantage of my weakness to mislead me again.

For, whereas I ought to have waited in the light, for direction and guidance into and in the way of well doing, and not to have moved without the divine

spirit, a manifestation of which the Lord has been pleased to give unto me, for me to profit with, or by; the enemy transforming himself into the appearance of an angel of light, offered himself in that appearance to be my guide and leader into the performance of religious exercises. And I, not then knowing the wiles of Satan, and being eager to be doing some acceptable service to God, too readily yielded myself to the conduct of my enemy instead of my friend. He thereupon humouring the warmth and zeal of my spirit, put me upon religious performances in my own will, in my own time, and in my own strength; which in themselves were good, and would have been profitable unto me, and acceptable unto the Lord, if they had been performed in his will, in his time, and in the ability which he gives. But being wrought in the will of man, and at the prompting of the evil one, no wonder that it did me hurt instead of good.

I read abundantly in the Bible, and would set myself tasks in reading; enjoining myself to read so many chapters, sometimes a whole book, or long epistle, at a time. And I thought that time well spent; though I was not much the wiser for what I had read, reading it too cursorily, and without the true guide, the Holy Spirit, which alone could open the understanding, and give the true sense of what was read. I prayed often, and drew out my prayers to a great length; and appointed unto myself certain set times to pray at, and a certain number of prayers to say in a day; yet knew not, meanwhile, what true prayer was; which stands not in words, though the words which are uttered in the movings of the Holy Spirit are very available; but in the breathing of the soul to the heavenly Father, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, who maketh intercession sometimes in words, and sometimes with sighs and groans only, which the Lord vouchsafes to hear and answer.

This will-worship, which all is that is performed in the will of man, and not in the movings of the Holy



Spirit, was a great hurt to me, and hindrance of my spiritual growth in the way of truth. But my heavenly Father, who knew the sincerity of my soul to him, and the hearty desire I had to serve him, had compassion on me; and in due time was graciously pleased to illuminate my understanding farther, and to open in me an eye to discern the false spirit, and its way of working, from the true; and to reject the former, and cleave to the latter.

But though the enemy had by his subtilty gained such advantages over me, yet I went on notwithstanding, and firmly persisted in my godly resolution of ceasing from and denying those things which I was now convinced in my conscience were evil. And on this account a great trial came quickly on me. For the general quarter sessions for the peace coming on, my father, willing to excuse himself from a dirty journey, commanded me to get up betimes, and go to Oxford, and deliver in the recognizances he had taken; and bring him an account what justices were on the bench, and what principal pleas were before them; which he knew I knew how to do, having often attended him on those services.

I, who knew how it stood with me better than he did, felt a weight come over me as soon as he had spoken the word. For I presently saw it would bring a very great exercise upon me. But having never resisted his will in anything that was lawful, as this was, I attempted not to make any excuse, but, ordering a horse to be ready for me early in the morning, I went to bed, having great strugglings in my breast. For the enemy came in upon me like a flood, and set many difficulties before me, swelling them up to the highest pitch, by representing them as mountains which I should never be able to get over; and, alas! that faith which could remove mountains, and cast them into the sea, was but very small and weak in me. He cast into my mind not only how I should behave myself in court, and dispatch the business I

was sent about, but how I should demean myself towards my acquaintance, of which I had many in that city, with whom I was wont to be jolly; whereas now I could not put off my hat, nor bow to any of them, nor give them their honorary titles, as they are called, nor use the corrupt language of *you* to any one of them, but must keep to the plain and true language of *thou* and *thee*.

Much of this nature revolved in my mind, thrown in by the enemy to discourage and cast me down: and I had none to have recourse to for counsel or help, but to the Lord alone. To him therefore I poured forth my supplications with earnest cries and breathings of soul, that he, in whom all power was, would enable me to go through this great exercise, and keep me faithful to himself therein. And after some time he was pleased to compose my mind to stillness, and I went to rest.

Early next morning I got up, and found my spirit pretty calm and quiet, yet not without a fear upon me, lest I should slip and let fall the testimony which I had to bear. And as I rode, a frequent cry ran through me to the Lord, on this wise: "O my God, preserve me faithful, whatever befalls me! Suffer me not to be drawn into evil, how much scorn and contempt soever may be cast upon me!"

Thus was my spirit exercised on the way almost continually. And when I was come within a mile or two of the city, whom should I meet upon the way coming from thence but Edward Burrough! I rode in a moun-tier cap (a dress more used then than now), and so did he; and because the weather was exceeding sharp, we both had drawn our caps down, to shelter our faces from the cold; and by that means neither of us knew the other, but passed by without taking notice one of the other; till a few days after meeting again, and observing each other's dress, we recollected where we had so lately met. Then thought I with myself, Oh! how glad should I have

been of a word of encouragement and counsel from him, when I was under that weighty exercise of mind! But the Lord saw it was not good for me, that my reliance might be wholly upon him, and not on man.

When I had set up my horse, I went directly to the hall where the sessions were held, where I had been but a very little while before a knot of my old acquaintance espying me, came to me. One of these was a scholar in his gown, another a surgeon of that city, both my school-fellows and fellow-boarders at Thame school, and the third a country gentleman, with whom I had long been very familiar.

When they were come up to me, they all saluted me after the usual manner, putting off their hats, and bowing, and saying "Your humble servant, sir;" expecting, no doubt, the like from me. But when they saw me stand still, not moving my cap, nor bowing my knee in any way of congee to them, they were amazed, and looked first one upon another, then upon me, and then one upon another again for a while, without a word speaking. At length the surgeon, a brisk young man, who stood nearest to me, clapping his hand in a familiar way upon my shoulder, and smiling on me, said: "What Tom, a Quaker?" To which I readily and cheerfully answered, "Yes, a Quaker." And as the words passed out of my mouth, I felt joy spring in my heart, for I rejoiced that I had not been drawn out by them, into a compliance with them; and that I had strength and boldness given me, to confess myself to be one of that despised people.

They staid not long with me, nor said any more, that I remember, to me; but looking somewhat confusedly one upon another, after a while took their leave of me, going off in the same ceremonious manner as they came on. After they were gone, I walked awhile about the hall, and went up nearer to the court, to observe both what justices were on the

bench, and what business they had before them. And I went in fear, not of what they could or would have done to me, if they should have taken notice of me, but lest I should be surprised, and drawn unwarily into that which I was to keep out of.

It was not long before the court adjourned to go to dinner, and that time I took to go to the clerk of the peace at his house, whom I was well acquainted with. So soon as I came into the room where he was, he came and met me, and saluted me after his manner; for he had a great respect for my father, and a kind regard for me. And though he was at first somewhat startled at my carriage and language, yet he treated me very civilly, without any reflection or shew of lightness. I delivered him the recognizances which my father had sent, and having done the business I came upon, withdrew, and went to my inn to refresh myself, and then to return home. But when I was ready to take horse, looking out into the street, I saw two or three justices standing just in the way where I was to ride. This brought a fresh concern upon me. I knew if they saw me, they would know me; and I concluded, if they knew me, they would stop me to inquire after my father; and I doubted how I should come off with them.

This doubting brought weakness on me, and that weakness led to contrivance how I might avoid this trial. I knew the city pretty well, and remembered there was a back way, which, though somewhat about, would bring me out of town, without passing by those justices; yet loth I was to go that way. Wherefore I staid a pretty time, in hopes they would have parted company, or removed to some other place out of my way. But when I had waited till I was uneasy for losing so much time, having entered into reasonings with flesh and blood, the weakness prevailed over me, and away I went the back way; which brought trouble and grief upon my spirits for having shunned the cross.

But the Lord looked on me with a tender eye, and seeing my heart was right to him, and that what I had done was merely through weakness and fear of falling, and that I was sensible of my failing therein, and sorry for it, he was graciously pleased to pass it by, and speak peace to me again. So that before I got home, as when I went in the morning, my heart was full of breathing prayer to the Lord that he would vouchsafe to be with me and uphold and carry me through that day's exercise; so, now at my return in the evening, my heart was full of thankful acknowledgments and praises unto him for his great goodness and favour to me, in having thus far preserved and kept me from falling into anything that might have brought dishonour to his holy name, which I had now taken on me.

But notwithstanding that it was thus with me, and that I found peace and acceptance with the Lord in some good degree, according to my obedience to the convictions I had received by his holy spirit in me; yet was not the veil so done away, or fully rent, but that there still remained a cloud upon my understanding, with respect to my carriage towards my father. And that notion which the enemy had brought into my mind, that I ought to put such a difference between him and all others, as that, on the account of paternal relation, I should still deport myself towards him, both in gesture and language, as I had always heretofore done, did yet prevail with me. So that when I came home, I went to my father bareheaded, as I used to do, and gave him a particular account of the business he had given me in command, in such manner that he, observing no alteration in my carriage towards him, found no cause to take offence at me.

I had felt for some time before an earnest desire of mind to go again to Isaac Penington's. And I began to question whether, when my father should come (as

I concluded ere long he would) to understand I inclined to settle among the people called Quakers, he would permit me the command of his horses, as before. Wherefore in the morning, when I went to Oxford, I gave direction to a servant of his to go that day to a gentleman of my acquaintance, who I knew had a riding nag to put off, either by sale, or to be kept for his work, and desired him, in my name, to send him to me; which he did, and I found him in the stable when I came home.

On this nag I designed to ride next day to Isaac Penington's, and in order thereunto arose betimes and got myself ready for the journey: but, because I would pay all due respects to my father, and not go without his consent, or knowledge at the least, I sent one up to him (for he was not yet stirring) to acquaint him that I had a purpose to go to Isaac Penington's, and desired to know if he pleased to command me any service to them. He sent me word, he would speak with me before I went, and would have me come up to him, which I did, and stood by his bed-side. Then, in a mild and gentle tone, he said, "I understand you have a mind to go to Mr Penington's." I answered, "I have so." "Why," said he, "I wonder why you should. You were there, you know, but a few days ago; and unless you had business with them, don't you think it will look oddly?" I said, "I thought not." "I doubt," said he, "you'll tire them with your company, and make them think they shall be troubled with you." "If," replied I, "I find anything of that, I'll make the shorter stay." "But," said he, "can you propose any sort of business with them, more than a mere visit?" "Yes," said I, "I propose to myself not only to see them, but to have some discourse with them." "Why," said he, in a tone a little harsher, "I hope you don't incline to be of their way." "Truly," answered I, "I like them and their

way very well, so far as I yet understand it ; and I am willing to go to them, that I may understand it better."

Thereupon he began to reckon up a beadroll of faults against the Quakers ; telling me they were a rude, unmannerly people, that would not give civil respect or honour to their superiors, no, not to magistrates : that they held many dangerous principles ; that they were an immodest, shameless people ; and that one of them stripped himself stark naked, and went in that unseemly manner about the streets, at fairs, and on market days, in great towns. To all the other charges I answered only, that perhaps they might be either misreported or misunderstood, as the best of people had sometimes been. But to the last charge of going naked, a particular answer, by way of instance, was just then brought into my mind, and put into my mouth, which I had not thought of before, and that was, the example of Isaiah, who went naked among the people for a long time. Isaiah, xx. 2, 3. "Aye," said my father, "but you must consider that he was a prophet of the Lord, and had an express command from God to do so." "Yes, sir," replied I, "I do consider that ; but I consider also, that the Jews, among whom he lived, did not own him for a prophet, nor believe that he had such a command from God. And," added I, "how know we but that this Quaker may be a prophet too, and might be commanded to do as he did, for some reason which we understand not?"

This put my father to a stand ; so that, letting fall his charges against the Quakers, he only said : "I would wish you not to go so soon, but take a little time to consider of it ; you may visit Mr Penington hereafter." "Nay, sir," replied I, "pray don't hinder my going now, for I have so strong a desire to go, that I do not well know how to forbear." And as I spake these words, I withdrew gently to the chamber door, and then hastening down stairs, went imme-

diately to the stable, where, finding my horse ready bridled, I forthwith mounted and went off, lest I should receive a countermand.

This discourse with my father had cast me somewhat back in my journey, and it being fifteen long miles thither, the ways bad, and my nag but small, it was in the afternoon that I got thither. And understanding by the servant that took my horse, that there was then a meeting in the house, (as there was weekly on that day, which was the fourth day of the week, though I till then understood it not,) I hastened in, and knowing the rooms, went directly to the little parlour, where I found a few friends sitting together in silence, and I sat down among them well satisfied, though without words.

When the meeting was ended, and those of the company who were strangers withdrawn, I addressed myself to Isaac Penington and his wife, who received me courteously; but not knowing what exercise I had been in, and yet was under, nor having heard anything of me since I had been there before in another garb, were not forward at first to lay sudden hands on me; which I observed, and did not dislike. But as they came to see a change in me, not in habit only, but in gesture, speech, and carriage, and which was more, in countenance also, (for the exercise I had passed through, and yet was under, had imprinted a visible character of gravity upon my face,) they were exceedingly kind and tender towards me.

There was then in the family a friend, whose name was Anne Curtis, the wife of Thomas Curtis, of Reading, who was come upon a visit to them, and particularly to see Mary Penington's daughter Guli, who had been ill of the small-pox since I had been there before. Betwixt Mary Penington and this friend I observed some private discourse and whisperings, and I had an apprehension that it was upon something that concerned me. Wherefore I took the freedom to ask Mary Penington if my coming thither



had occasioned any inconvenience in the family; she asked me if I had had the small-pox. I told her no. She then told me her daughter had newly had them, and though she was well recovered of them, she had not as yet been down amongst them, but had intended to come down and sit with them in the parlour that evening; yet would rather forbear till another time, than endanger me: and that that was the matter they had been discoursing of. I assured her that I had always been, and then more especially was, free from any apprehension of danger in that respect, and therefore entreated that her daughter might come down. And although they were somewhat unwilling to yield to it, in regard of me, yet my importunity prevailed, and after supper she did come down and sit with us; and though the marks of the distemper were fresh upon her, yet they made no impression upon me, faith keeping out fear.

We spent much of the evening in retiredness of mind, our spirits being weightily gathered inward; so that not much discourse passed among us, neither they to me, nor I to them offered any occasion. Yet I had good satisfaction in that stillness, feeling my spirit drawn near to the Lord and to them therein. Before I went to bed, they let me know that there was to be a meeting at Wycombe next day, and that some of the family would go to it. I was very glad of it, for I greatly desired to go to meetings, and this fell very aptly, it being in my way home. Next morning Isaac Penington himself went, having Anne Curtis with him, and I accompanied them.

At Wycombe we met with Edward Burrough, who came from Oxford thither, that day that I, going thither, met him on the way; and having both our moutier-caps on, we recollected that we had met, and passed by each other on the road unknown.

This was a monthly meeting, consisting of friends chiefly, who gathered to it from several parts of the country thereabouts, so that it was pretty large, and

was held in a fair room in Jeremiah Stevens's house ; the room where I had been at a meeting before in John Raunce's house being too little to receive us. A very good meeting was this in itself and to me. Edward Burrough's ministry came forth among us in life and power, and the assembly was covered therewith. I also, according to my small capacity, had a share therein : for I felt some of that divine power working my spirit into a great tenderness, and not only confirming me in the course I had already entered, and strengthening me to go on therein, but rending the veil also somewhat further, and clearing my understanding in some other things which I had not seen before. For the Lord was pleased to make his discoveries to me by degrees, that the sight of too great a work, and too many enemies to encounter with at once, might not discourage me, and make me faint.

When the meeting was ended, the friends of the town taking notice that I was the man that had been at their meeting the week before, whom they then did not know, some of them came and spake lovingly to me, and would have had me stay with them : but Edward Burrough going home with Isaac Penington, he invited me to go back with him, which I willingly consented to ; for the love I had more particularly to Edward Burrough, through whose ministry I had received the first awakening stroke, drew me to desire his company ; and so away we rode together. But I was somewhat disappointed of my expectation, for I hoped he would have given me both opportunity and encouragement to open myself to him, and to pour forth my complaints, fears, doubts, and questions into his bosom. But he, being sensible that I was truly reached, and that the witness of God was raised, and the work of God rightly begun in me, chose to leave me to the guidance of the good spirit in myself, the counsellor that can resolve all doubts, that I might not have any dependence on man

Wherefore, although he was naturally of an open and free temper and carriage, and was afterwards always very familiar and affectionately kind to me, yet, at this time, he kept himself somewhat reserved, and shewed only common kindness to me.

Next day we parted, he for London, I home, under a very great weight and exercise upon my spirit. For I now saw, in and by the farther openings of the divine light in me, that the enemy, by his false reasonings, had beguiled and misled me, with respect to my carriage towards my father. For I now clearly saw the honour due to parents did not consist in uncovering the head and bowing the body to them, but in a ready obedience to their lawful commands, and in performing all needful services unto them. Wherefore, as I was greatly troubled for what I already had done in that case, though it was through ignorance, so I plainly felt I could no longer continue therein, without drawing on myself the guilt of wilful disobedience, which I well knew would draw after it divine displeasure and judgment.

Hereupon the enemy assaulted me afresh, setting before me the danger I should run myself into of provoking my father to use severity towards me; and perhaps to the casting of me utterly off. But over this temptation the Lord, whom I cried unto, supported me, and gave me faith to believe that he would hear me through whatever might befall me on that account. Wherefore I resolved, in the strength which he should give me, to be faithful to his requirings, whatever might come of it.

Thus labouring under various exercises on the way, I at length got home, expecting I should have but a rough reception from my father. But when I came home, I understood my father was from home. Wherefore I sat down by the fire in the kitchen, keeping my mind retired to the Lord, with breathings of spirit to him, that I might be preserved from falling.

After some time I heard the coach drive in, which put me into a little fear, and a sort of shivering came over me. But by that time he was alighted and come in, I had pretty well recovered myself; and as soon as I saw him I rose up, and advanced a step or two towards him, with my head covered, and said, "Isaac Penington and his wife remember their loves to thee." He made a stop to hear what I said, and observing that I did not stand bare, and that I used the word *thee* to him, he with a stern countenance, and tone that spake high displeasure, only said, "I shall talk with you, sir, another time;" and so, hastening from me, went into the parlour, and I saw him no more that night.

Though I foresaw there was a storm arising, the apprehension of which was uneasy to me, yet the peace which I felt in my own breast raised in me a return of thanksgivings to the Lord for his gracious supporting hand, which had thus far carried me through this exercise; with humble cries in spirit to him, that he would vouchsafe to stand by me in it to the end, and uphold me; that I might not fall.

My spirit longed to be among friends, and to be at some meeting with them on the first day, which now drew on, this being the sixth-day night. Wherefore I purposed to go to Oxford on the morrow, which was the seventh day of the week, having heard there was a meeting there. Accordingly, having ordered my horse to be ready betimes, I got up in the morning and made myself ready also. Yet before I would go, that I might be as observant to my father as possibly I could, I desired my sister to go up to him in his chamber, and acquaint him that I had a mind to go to Oxford, and desired to know if he pleased to command me any service there. He bid her tell me he would not have me go till he had spoken with me; and getting up immediately, he hastened down to me before he was quite dressed.

As soon as he saw me standing with my hat on, his

passion transporting him, he fell upon me with both his fists; and having by that means somewhat vented his anger, he plucked off my hat and threw it away. Then stepping hastily out to the stable, and seeing my borrowed nag stand ready saddled and bridled, he asked his man whence that horse came; who telling him he fetched it from Mr such an one's, "Then ride him presently back," said my father; "and tell Mr — I desire he will never lend my son a horse again, unless he brings a note from me."

The poor fellow, who loved me well, would have fain made excuses and delays; but my father was positive in his command, and so urgent, that he would not let him stay so much as to take his breakfast, though he had five miles to ride; nor would he himself stir from the stable till he had seen the man mounted and gone. Then coming in, he went up into his chamber to make himself more fully ready, thinking he had me safe enough now my horse was gone; for I took so much delight in riding that I seldom went on foot. But while he was dressing himself in his chamber, I, who understood what had been done, changing my boots for shoes, took another hat, and acquainting my sister, who loved me very well, and whom I could confide in, whither I meant to go, went out privately, and walked away to Wycombe, having seven long miles thither, which yet seemed little and easy to me, from the desire I had to be among friends.

As thus I travelled all alone, under the load of grief, from the sense I had of the opposition and hardship I was to expect from my father, the enemy took advantage to assault me again, casting a doubt into my mind, whether I had done well in thus coming away from my father without his leave or knowledge. I was quiet and peaceable in my spirit before this question was darted into me; but after that, disturbance and trouble seized upon me, so that I was at a stand what to do, whether to go forward or back-

ward. Fear of offending inclined me to go back, but desire of the meeting, and to be with friends, pressed me to go forward. I stood still awhile to consider and weigh, as well as I could, the matter. I was sensibly satisfied that I had not left my father with any intention of undutifulness or disrespect to him, but merely in obedience to that drawing of spirit, which I was persuaded was of the Lord, to join with his people in worshipping him : and this made me easy.

But then the enemy, to make me uneasy again, objected : " But how could that drawing be of the Lord, which drew me to disobey my father ?" I considered thereupon the extent of paternal power, which I found was not wholly arbitrary and unlimited, but had bounds set unto it : so that, as in civil matters it was restrained to things lawful, so in spiritual and religious cases it had not a compulsory power over conscience, which ought to be subject to the Heavenly Father. And therefore, though obedience to parents be enjoined to children, yet it is with this limitation in the Lord : " Children, obey your parents in the Lord ; for this is right." 1 Pet. vi. 1.

This turned the scale for going forward, and so on I went. And yet I was not wholly free from some fluctuations of mind, from the besettings of the enemy. Wherefore, although I knew that outward signs did not properly belong to the gospel dispensation, yet for my better assurance I did, in fear and great humility, beseech the Lord that he would be pleased so far to condescend to the weakness of his servant, as to give me a sign by which I might certainly know whether my way was right before him or not.

The sign which I asked was, " That if I had done wrong in coming as I did, I might be rejected, or but coldly received at the place I was going to ; but if this my undertaking was right in his sight, that he would give me favour with them I went to, so that they should receive me with kindness and demonstra-

tions of love." Accordingly, when I came to John Raunce's house, (which, being so much a stranger to all, I chose to go to, because I understood the meeting was commonly held there,) they received me with more than ordinary kindness, especially Frances Rance, John Rance's then wife, who was both a grave and motherly woman, and had a hearty love to truth, and tenderness towards all that in sincerity sought after it. And this so kind reception confirming me in the belief that my undertaking was approved of by the Lord, gave great satisfaction and ease to my mind; and I was thankful to the Lord therefore.

Thus it fared with me there; but at home it fared otherwise with my father. He, supposing I had betaken myself to my chamber when he took my hat from me, made no enquiry after me till evening came; and then, sitting by the fire and considering the weather was very cold, he said to my sister, who sat by him, "Go up to your brother's chamber, and call him down; it may be he will sit there else, in a sullen fit, till he has caught cold." "Alas! sir," said she, "he is not in his chamber, nor in the house either." At that my father startling, said, "Why, where is he then?" "I know not, sir," said she, "where he is; but I know that when he saw you had sent away his horse, he put on shoes, and went out on foot, and I have not seen him since. And indeed, sir," added she, "I don't wonder at his going away, considering how you used him." This put my father into a great fright, doubting I was gone quite away; and so great a passion of grief seized on him, that he forbore not to weep, and to cry out aloud, so that the family heard him, "Oh! my son! I shall never see him more! for he is of so bold and resolute a spirit, that he will run himself into danger, and so may be thrown into some gaol or other, where he may lie and die before I can hear of him." Then bidding her light him up to his chamber, he went immediately to bed, where he

lay restless and groaning, and often bemoaning himself and me, for the greatest part of the night.

Next morning my sister sent a man, whom for his love to me she knew she could trust, to give me this account; and though by him she sent me also fresh linen for my use, in case I should go farther, or stay out longer; yet she desired me to come home as soon as I could.

This account was very uneasy to me. I was much grieved that I had occasioned so much grief to my father; and I would have returned that evening after the meeting, but the friends would not permit it, for the meeting would in likelihood end late, the days being short, and the way was long and dirty. And besides, John Rance told me he had something on his mind to speak to my father, and that if I would stay till next day he would go down with me, hoping, perhaps, that while my father was under this sorrow for me, he might work some good upon him. Hereupon, concluding to stay till the morrow, I dismissed the man with the things he brought, bidding him tell my sister, I intended, God willing, to return home to-morrow; and charging him not to let anybody else know that he had seen me, or where he had been.

Next morning John Rance and I set out, and when we were come to the end of the town, we agreed that he should go before and knock at the great gate, and I would come a little after, and go in by the back way. He did so; and when a servant came to open the gate, he asking if the justice were at home, she told him yes; and desiring him to come in and sit down in the hall, went and acquainted her master that there was one who desired to speak with him. He, supposing it was one that came for justice, went readily into the hall to him. But he was not a little surprised when he found it was a Quaker; yet, not knowing on what account he came, he staid to hear his business. But when he found it was about me, he fell somewhat sharply on him.



In this time I was come by the back way into the kitchen, and hearing my father's voice so loud, I began to doubt things wrought not well ; but I was soon assured of that. For my father having quickly enough of the Quaker's company, left John Rance in the hall, and came into the kitchen, where he was more surprised to find me. The sight of my hat upon my head made him presently forget that I was that son of his whom he had so lately lamented as lost ; and his passion of grief turning into anger, he could not contain himself, but, running upon me with both his hands, first violently snatched off my hat, and threw it away ; then giving me some buffets on my head, he said, " Sirrah, get you up to your chamber." I forthwith went ; he following me at my heels, and now and then giving me a whirret on the ear, which, the way to my chamber lying through the hall where John Rance was, he, poor man, might see and be sorry for, as I doubt not that he was, but could not help me.

This was sure an unaccountable thing, that my father should, but a day before, express so high a sorrow for me, as fearing he should never see me any more, and yet now, so soon as he did see me, should fly upon me with such violence, and that only because I did not put off my hat, which he knew I did not put on in disrespect to him, but upon a religious principle. But as this hat-honour, as it was accounted, was grown to be a great idol, in those times more especially, so the Lord was pleased to engage his servants in a steady testimony against it, what suffering soever was brought upon them for it. And though some who have been called into the Lord's vineyard at later hours, and since the heat of that day hath been much over, may be apt to account this testimony a small thing to suffer so much upon, as some have done, not only to beating, but to fines and long and hard imprisonments ; yet they who, in those times, were faithfully exercised in and under it

durst not despise the day of small things; as knowing that he who should do so, would not be thought worthy to be concerned in higher testimonies.

I had now lost one of my hats, and I had but one more. That therefore I put on, but did not keep it long; for the next time my father saw it on my head, he tore it violently from me, and laid it up with the other, I knew not where. Wherefore I put on my moun-tier-cap, which was all I had left to wear on my head, and it was but a very little while that I had that to wear; for as soon as my father came where I was, I lost that also. And now I was forced to go bare-headed, wherever I had occasion to go, within doors and without.

This was in the eleventh month, called January, and the weather sharp, so that I, who had been bred up more tenderly, took so great a cold in my head, that my face and head were much swelled, and my gums had on them boils so sore, that I could neither chew meat, nor without difficulty swallow liquids. It held long, and I underwent much pain, without much pity, except from my poor sister, who did what she could to give me ease; and at length, by frequent applications of figs and stoned raisins toasted, and laid on the boils as hot as I could bear them, they ripened fit for lancing, and soon after sunk; then I had ease.

Now was I laid up as a kind of prisoner for the rest of the winter, having no means to go forth among friends, nor they at liberty to come to me. Wherefore I spent the time much in my chamber, in waiting on the Lord, and in reading mostly in the bible. But whenever I had occasion to speak to my father, though I had no hat now to offend him, yet my language did as much; for I durst not say *you* to him, but *thou* or *thee*, as the occasion required, and then would he be sure to fall on me with his fists.

At one of these times, I remember, when he had beaten me in that manner, he commanded me, as he commonly did at such times, to go to my chamber;

which I did, and he followed me to the bottom of the stairs. Being come thither, he gave me a parting blow, and in a very angry tone said, "Sirrah, if ever I hear you say *thou* or *thee* to me again, I'll strike your teeth down your throat." I was greatly grieved to hear him say so. And feeling a word rise in my heart unto him, I turned again, and calmly said unto him: "Would it not be just, if God should serve thee so, when thou sayest *thou* or *thee* to him?" Though his hand was up, I saw it sink and his countenance fall, and he turned away and left me standing there.

But I notwithstanding went up into my chamber, and cried unto the Lord, earnestly beseeching him, that he would be pleased to open my father's eyes, that he might see whom he fought against, and for what; and that he would turn his heart.

After this I had a pretty time of rest and quiet from these disturbances, my father not saying anything to me, nor giving me occasion to say anything to him. But I was still under a kind of confinement, unless I would have run about the country bare-headed like a madman; which I did not see it was my place to do. For I found that, although to be abroad and at liberty among my friends would have been more pleasant to me, yet home was at present my proper place, a school in which I was to learn with patience to bear the cross; and I willingly submitted to it.

But after some time a fresh storm, more fierce and sharp than any before, arose and fell upon me; the occasion whereof was this. My father, who (having been in his younger years, more especially while he lived in London, a constant hearer of those who are called puritan preachers) had stored up a pretty stock of scripture knowledge, did sometimes, not constantly nor very often, cause his family to come together on a first-day in the evening, and expound a chapter to them, and pray. His family now, as well as his estate, was lessened; for my mother was dead, my

brother gone, and my elder sister at London; and having put off his husbandry, he had put off with it most of his servants, so that he had now but one man and one maid servant. It so fell out, that on a first-day night he bid my sister, who sat with him in the parlour, call in the servants to prayer.

Whether this was done as a trial upon me or no, I know not, but a trial it proved to me; for they loving me very well, and disliking my father's carriage to me, made no haste to go in, but staid a second summons. This so offended him, that when at length they did go in, he, instead of going to prayer, examined them why they came not in when they were first called; and the answer they gave him being such as rather heightened than abated his displeasure, he with an angry tone said, "Call in that fellow," (meaning me, who was left alone in the kitchen,) "for he is the cause of all this." They, as they were backward to go in themselves, so were not forward to call me in, fearing the effect of my father's displeasure would fall upon me: as soon it did; for I hearing what was said, and not staying for the call, went in of myself. And as soon as I was come in, my father discharged his displeasure at me in very sharp and bitter expressions; which drew from me, in the grief of my heart to see him so transported with passion, these few words: "They that can pray with such a spirit let them; for my part I cannot." With that my father flew upon me with both his fists, and not thinking that sufficient, stepped hastily to the place where his cane stood, and catching that up, laid on me, I thought, with all his strength. And, I being bare-headed, I thought his blows must needs have broken my skull, had I not laid my arm over my head to defend it.

His man seeing this, and not able to contain himself, stepped in between us, and laying hold on the cane, by strength of hand held it so fast, that though he attempted not to take it away, yet he withheld my

father from striking with it, which did but enrage him the more. I disliked this in the man, and bid him let go the cane, and be gone, which he immediately did, and turning to be gone, had a blow on the shoulders for his pains, which yet did not much hurt him. But now my sister, fearing lest my father should fall upon me again, besought him to forbear, adding, "Indeed, sir, if you strike him any more, I will throw open the casement and cry out murder, for I am afraid you will kill my brother." This stopped his hand, and after some threatening speeches, he commanded me to get to my chamber; which I did; as I always did whenever he bid me.

Thither, soon after, my sister followed me to see my arm and dress it, for it was indeed very much bruised and swelled between the wrist and the elbow, and in some places the skin was broken and beaten off. But though it was very sore, and I felt for some time much pain in it, yet I had peace and quietness in my mind, being more grieved for my father than for myself, who I knew had hurt himself more than me. This was, so far as I remember, the last time that ever my father called his family to prayer. And this was also the last time that he ever fell, so severely at least, upon me.

Soon after this my elder sister, who in all the time of these exercises of mine had been at London, returned home, much troubled to find me a Quaker; a name of reproach and great contempt then; and she being at London had received, I suppose, the worst character of them. Yet, though she disliked the people, her affectionate regard to me made her rather pity than despise me: and the more, when she understood what hard usage I had met with.

The rest of this winter I spent in a lonesome, solitary life, having none to converse with, none to unbosom myself unto, none to ask counsel of, none to seek relief from, but the Lord alone, who yet was more than all. And yet the company and society of

faithful and judicious friends would, I thought, have been very welcome, as well as helpful to me in my spiritual travail; in which I thought I made but a slow progress, my soul breathing after further attainments: the sense of which drew from me the following lines:

The winter tree  
 Resembles me,  
 Whose sap lies in its root:  
 The spring draws nigh;  
 As it, so I  
 Shall bud, I hope, and shoot.

At length it pleased the Lord to move Isaac Penington and his wife to make a visit to my father, and see how it fared with me: and very welcome they were to me, whatever they were to him; to whom I doubt not but they would have been more welcome had it not been for me. They tarried with us all night, and much discourse they had with my father both about the principles of truth in general, and me in particular, which I was not privy to. But one thing I remember I afterwards heard of, which was this:—

When my father and we were at their house some months before, Mary Penington, in some discourse then, had told him how hardly her husband's father, alderman Penington, had dealt with him about his hat; which my father, little then thinking that it would, and so soon too, be his own case, did very much censure the alderman for; wondering that so wise a man as he was should take notice of such a trivial thing as the putting off or keeping on of a hat; and he spared not to blame him liberally for it. This gave her a handle to take hold of him by. And having had an ancient acquaintance with him, and he having always had a high opinion of and respect for her; she, who was a woman of great wisdom, of ready speech, and of a well-resolved spirit, did press so close upon him with this home argument, that he

was utterly to seek; and at a loss how to defend himself.

After dinner next day, when they were ready to take coach to return home, she desired my father that, since my company was so little acceptable to him, he would give me leave to go and spend some time with them, where I should be sure to be welcome. He was very unwilling I should go, and made many objections against it, all which she answered and removed so clearly, that not finding what excuse farther to allege, he at length left it to me, and I soon turned the scale for going.

We were come to the coach side before this was concluded on, and I was ready to step in, when one of my sisters privately put my father in mind that I had never a hat on. That somewhat startled him, for he did not think it fit I should go from home, and that so far, and to stay abroad without a hat. Wherefore he whispered to her to fetch me a hat, and he entertained them with some discourse in the meantime. But as soon as he saw the hat coming he would not stay till it came, lest I should put it on before him, but breaking off his discourse abruptly, took his leave of them, and hastened in before the hat was brought to me.

I had not one penny of money about me, nor indeed elsewhere; for my father, as soon as he saw I would be a Quaker, took from me both what money I had, and everything else of value, or that would have made money, as some plate buttons, rings, &c. pretending that he would keep them for me till I came to myself again, lest I, in the meantime, should destroy them. But as I had no money, so being among my friends I had no need of any, nor ever honed after it; though once upon a particular occasion I had like to have wanted it: the case was thus:—

I had been at Reading, and set out from thence on the first day of the week in the morning, intending to reach (as, in point of time I well might) to Isaac

Penington's, where the meeting was to be that day; but when I came to Maidenhead, a thoroughfare town on the way, I was stopped by the watch for riding on that day. The watchman laying hold on the bridle, told me I must go with him to the constable; and accordingly I, making no resistance, suffered him to lead my horse to the constable's door. When we were come there, the constable told me I must go before the warden, who was the chief officer of that town, and bid the watchman bring me on, himself walking before.

Being come to the warden's door, the constable knocked, and desired to speak with Mr warden. He thereupon quickly coming to the door, the constable said; "Sir, I have brought a man here to you, whom the watch took riding through the town." The warden was a budge old man; and I looked somewhat big too, having a good horse under me, and a good riding coat on my back, both which my friend Isaac Penington had kindly accommodated me with for that journey. The warden therefore taking me to be, as the saying is, somebody, put off his hat and made a low congé to me; but when he saw that I sat still, and neither bowed to him nor moved my hat, he gave a start, and said to the constable: "You said you had brought a man, but he don't behave himself like a man." I sat still upon my horse, and said not a word, but kept my mind retired to the Lord, waiting to see what this would come to.

The warden then began to examine me, asking me whence I came, and whither I was going: I told him I came from Reading, and was going to Chalfont. He asked me why I did travel on that day: I told him I did not know that it would give any offence barely to ride or to walk on that day, so long as I did not carry or drive any carriage, or horses laden with burdens. "Why," said he, "if your business was urgent, did you not take a pass from the mayor of Reading?" "Because," replied I, "I did not know, nor think I



should have needed one." "Well," said he, "I will not talk with you now, because it is time to go to church, but I will examine you farther anon." And turning to the constable: "Have him," said he, "to an inn, and bring him before me after dinner."

The naming of an inn put me in mind that such public houses were places of expense, and I knew I had no money to defray it: wherefore I said to the warden: "Before thou sendest me to an inn, which may occasion some expense, I think it needful to acquaint thee that I have no money." At that the warden startled again, and turning quick upon me, said: "How! no money? How can that be? You don't look like a man that has no money." "However I look," said I, "I tell thee the truth, that I have no money; and I tell it to forewarn thee, that thou mayest not bring any charge upon the town." "I wonder," said he, "what art you have got, that you can travel without money; you can do more, I assure you, than I can."

I making no answer, he went on and said: "Well, well! but if you have no money, you have a good horse under you, and we can distrain him for the charge." "But," said I "the horse is not mine." "No!" said he, "but you have a good coat on your back, and that I hope is your own." "No," said I, "but it is not, for I borrowed both the horse and the coat." With that the warden holding up his hands, and smiling said, "Bless me! I never met with such a man as you are before! What! were you set out by the parish?" Then turning to the constable, he said, "Have him to the Greyhound, and bid the people be civil to him." Accordingly to the Greyhound I was led, my horse set up, and I put into a large room, and some account, I suppose, given of me to the people of the house.

This was new work to me, and what the issue of it would be I could not foresee; but being left there alone, I sat down, and retired in spirit to the Lord, in

whom alone my strength and safety was, and begged support of him; even that he would be pleased to give me wisdom and words to answer the warden, when I should come to be examined again before him.

After some time, having pen, ink, and paper, about me, I set myself to write what I thought might be proper, if occasion served, to give the warden: and while I was writing, the master of the house being come home from his worship, sent the tapster to me, to invite me to dine with him. I bid him tell his master that I had not any money to pay for my dinner. He sent the man again to tell me, I should be welcome to dine with him, though I had no money. I desired him to tell his master, that I was very sensible of his civility and kindness, in so courteously inviting me to his table; but that I had not freedom to eat of his meat unless I could have paid for it. So he went on with his dinner, and I with my writing.

But before I had finished what was on my mind to write, the constable came again, bringing with him his fellow-constable. This was a brisk, genteel young man, a shopkeeper in the town, whose name was Cherry. They saluted me very civilly, and told me they were come to have me before the warden. This put an end to my writing, which I put into my pocket, and went along with them.

Being come to the warden's, he asked me again the same questions he had asked me before; to which I gave him the like answers. Then he told me the penalty I had incurred, which he said was either to pay so much money, or lie so many hours in the stocks, and asked me which I would choose: I replied, "I shall not choose either. And," said I, "I have told three already that I have no money; though if I had, I could not so far acknowledge myself an offender as to pay any. But as to lying in the stocks, I am in thy power, to do unto me what it shall please the Lord to suffer thee."

When he heard that, he paused awhile, and then told me, "He considered that I was but a young man, and might not perhaps understand the danger I had brought myself into, and therefore he would not use the severity of the law upon me; but in hopes that I would be wiser hereafter, he would pass by this offence, and discharge me."

Then, putting on a countenance of the greatest gravity, he said to me: "But, young man, I would have you know, that you have not only broken the law of the land, but the law of God also; and therefore you ought to ask him forgiveness, for you have offended him." "That," said I, "I would most willingly do, if I were sensible that in this case I had offended him by breaking any law of his." "Why," said he, "do you question that?" "Yes, truly," said I, "for I do not know that any law of God doth forbid me to ride on this day."

"No!" said he, "that's strange! Where, I wonder, was you bred? You can read, can't you?" "Yes," said I, "that I can." "Don't you then read," said he, "the commandment, 'Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord; in it thou shalt not do any work?'" "Yes," replied I, "I have both read it often, and remember it very well. But that command was given to the Jews, not to Christians; and this is not that day, for that was the seventh day, but this is the first." "How!" said he, "do you know the days of the week no better? You had need then be better taught."

Here the younger constable, whose name was Cherry, interposing, said, "Mr warden, the gentleman is in the right as to that, for this is the first day of the week, and not the seventh." This the old warden took in dudgeon; and looking severely on the constable said: "What! do you take upon you to teach me? I'll have you know I will not be taught

by you." "As you please for that, sir," said the constable, "but I am sure you are mistaken in this point; for Saturday, I know, is the seventh day, and you know yesterday was Saturday."

This made the warden hot and testy, and put him almost out of all patience, so that I feared it would have come to a downright quarrel betwixt them, for both were confident, and neither would yield. And so earnestly were they engaged in the contest, that there was no room for me to put in a word between them. At length the old man, having talked himself out of wind, stood still awhile as it were to take breath, and then bethinking himself of me, he turned to me and said: "You are discharged, and may take your liberty to go about your occasions." "But," said I, "I desire my horse may be discharged too, else I know not how to go." "Aye, aye," said he, "you shall have your horse;" and turning to the other constable, who had not offended him, he said, "Go, see that his horse be delivered to him."

Away thereupon went I with that constable, leaving the old warden and the young constable to compose their difference as they could. Being come to the inn, the constable called for my horse to be brought out; which done, I immediately mounted, and began to set forward. But the ostler, not knowing the condition of my pocket, said modestly to me, "Sir, don't you forget to pay for your horse's standing?" "No, truly," said I, "I don't forget it, but I have no money to pay it with, and so I told the warden before." "Well, hold you your tongue," said the constable to the ostler, "I'll see you paid." Then opening the gate they let me out, the constable wishing me a good journey, and through the town I rode without further molestation; though it was as much Sabbath, I thought, when I went out, as it was when I came in.

A secret joy arose in me as I rode on the way, for that I had been preserved from doing or saying any-

thing which might give the adversaries of truth advantage against it or the friends of it; and praises sprang in my thankful heart to the Lord, my preserver. It added also not a little to my joy, that I felt the Lord near unto me, by his witness in my heart, to check and warn me; and my spirit was so far subjected to him, as readily to take warning, and stop at his check; an instance of both, that very morning, I had.

For as I rode between Reading and Maidenhead, I saw lying in my way the scabbard of a hanger, which, having lost its hook, had slipped off, I suppose, and dropped from the side of the wearer; and it had in it a pair of knives, whose hafts being inlaid with silver, seemed to be of some value. I alighted and took it up, and, clapping it between my thigh and the saddle, rode on a little way; but I quickly found it too heavy for me, and the reprovcr in me soon began to check. The words arose in me: "What hast thou to do with that? Doth it belong to thee?" I felt I had done amiss in taking it; wherefore I turned back to the place where it lay, and laid it down where I found it. And when afterwards I was stopped and seized on at Maidenhead, I saw there was a providence in not bringing it with me; which, if it should have been found (as it needs must) under my coat when I came to be unhorsed, might have raised some evil suspicion or sinister thoughts concerning me.

The stop I met with at Maidenhead had spent me so much time, that when I came to Issac Penington's, the meeting there was half over, which gave them occasion, after meeting, to inquire of me, if anything had befallen me on the way, which had caused me to come so late: whereupon I related to them what exercise I had met with, and how the Lord had helped me through it: which when they had heard, they rejoiced with me, and for my sake.

Great was the love, and manifold the kindness which I received from these my worthy friends, Isaac and

Mary Penington, while I abode in their family. They were indeed as affectionate parents and tender nurses to me, in this time of my religious childhood. For, besides their weighty and seasonable counsels, and exemplary conversations, they furnished me with means to go to the other meetings of friends in that country, when the meeting was not in their own house. And, indeed, the time I staid with them was so well spent, that it not only yielded great satisfaction to my mind, but turned, in good measure, to my spiritual advantage in the truth.

But, that I might not, on the one hand, bear too hard upon my friends, nor on the other hand forget the house of thralldom; after I had staid with them some six or seven weeks, from the time called Easter to the time called Whitsuntide, I took my leave of them to depart home, intending to walk to Wycombe in one day, and from thence home in another.

The day that I came home I did not see my father, nor until noon the next day, when I went into the parlour where he was, to take my usual place at dinner. As soon as I came in, I observed by my father's countenance, that my hat was still an offence to him; but when I was sitting down, and before I had eaten anything, he made me understand it more fully, but in a milder tone than he had formerly used to speak to me in. "If you cannot content yourself to come to dinner without your hive on your head (so he called my hat), pray rise, and go take your dinner somewhere else."

Upon those words I arose from the table, and leaving the room went into the kitchen, where I staid till the servants went to dinner, and then sat down very contentedly with them. Yet I suppose my father might intend that I should have gone into some other room, and there have eaten by myself. But I chose rather to eat with the servants, and did so from thenceforward, so long as he and I lived together. And from this time he rather chose, as I thought, to

avoid seeing me, than to renew the quarrel about my hat.

My sisters, meanwhile, observing my wariness in words and behaviour, and being satisfied, I suppose, that I acted upon a principle of religion and conscience, carried themselves very kindly to me, and did what they could to mitigate my father's displeasure against me. So that I now enjoyed much more quiet at home; and took more liberty to go abroad amongst my friends, than I had done or could do before. And having informed myself where any meetings of friends were held, within a reasonable distance from me, I resorted to them.

At first I went to a town called Hoddenham, in Buckinghamshire, five miles from my father's, where, at the house of one Belson, a few who were called Quakers, did meet sometimes on a first day of the week; but I found little satisfaction there. Afterwards, upon farther inquiry, I understood there was a settled meeting at a little village called Meadle, about four long miles from me, in the house of one John White, which is continued there still; and to that thenceforward I constantly went while I abode in that country and was able. Many a sore day's travel have I had thither and back again, being commonly in the winter time (how fair soever the weather was overhead) wet up to the ankles at least; yet, through the goodness of the Lord to me, I was preserved in health.

A little meeting also there was on the fourth day of the week at a town called Bledlow, two miles from me, in the house of one Thomas Saunders, who professed the truth; but his wife, whose name was Damaris, did possess it; (she being a woman of great sincerity and lively sense); and to that meeting also I usually went.

But though I took this liberty for the service of God, that I might worship him in the assemblies of

his people, yet did I not use it upon other occasions, but spent my time on other days, for the most part in my chamber, in retiredness of mind, waiting on the Lord. And the Lord was graciously pleased to visit me, by his quickening spirit and life, so that I came to feel the operation of his power in my heart, working out that which was contrary to his will, and giving me, in measure, dominion over it.

And as my spirit was kept in a due subjection to this divine power, I grew into a nearer acquaintance with the Lord; and the Lord vouchsafed to speak unto me in the inward of my soul, and to open my understanding in his fear, to receive counsel from him; so that I not only at some times heard his voice, but could distinguish his voice from the voice of the enemy.

As thus I daily waited on the Lord, a weighty and unusual exercise came upon me, which bowed my spirit very low before the Lord. I had seen, in the light of the Lord, the horrible guilt of those deceitful priests, of divers sorts and denominations, who made a trade of preaching, and for filthy lucre's sake held the people always learning; yet so taught them, as that, by their teaching and ministry, they were never able to come to the knowledge, much less to the acknowledgment of the truth: for as they themselves hated the light, because their own deeds were evil, so by reviling, reproaching, and blaspheming the true light, wherewith every man that cometh into the world is enlightened (John, i. 9.), they begat in the people a disesteem of the light; and laboured, as much as in them lay, to keep their hearers in the darkness, that they might not be turned to the light in themselves, lest by the light they should discover the wickedness of these their deceitful teachers, and turn from them.

Against this practice of these false teachers, the zeal of the Lord had flamed in my breast for some



time; and now the burthen of the word of the Lord against them fell heavy upon me, with command to proclaim his controversy against them.

Fain would I have been excused from this service, which I judged too heavy for me : wherefore I besought the Lord to take this weight from off me, who was in every respect but young, and lay it upon some other of his servants, of whom he had many; who were much more able and fit for it. But the Lord would not be entreated, but continued the burden upon me with greater weight; requiring obedience from me, and promising to assist me therein. Whereupon I arose from my bed, and, in the fear and dread of the Lord, committed to writing what he, in the motion of his divine spirit, dictated to me to write. When I had done it, though the sharpness of the message therein delivered was hard to my nature to be the publisher of; yet I found acceptance with the Lord in my obedience to his will, and his peace filled my heart. As soon as I could, I communicated to my friends what I had written; and it was printed in the year 1660, in one sheet of paper, under the title of 'An Alarm to the Priests; or, a Message from Heaven to forewarn them, &c.'

Some time after the publishing of this paper, having occasion to go to London, I went to visit George Fox the younger, who, with another friend, was then a prisoner in a messenger's hands. I had never seen him, nor he me before; yet this paper lying on the table before him, he pointing to it, asked me if I was the person that writ it. I told him I was. "It's much," said the other friend, "that they bear it." "It is," replied he, "their portion, and they must bear it."

While I was in London, I went to a little meeting of friends, which was held in the house of one Humphrey Bache, a goldsmith, at the sign of The Snail, in Tower street. It was then a very troublesome time, not from the government, but from the rabble of boys

and rude people, who, upon the turn of the times at the return of the king, took liberty to be very abusive.

When the meeting was ended, a pretty number of these unruly folk were got together at the door, ready to receive the friends as they came forth, not only with evil words, but with blows; which I saw they bestowed freely on some of them that were gone out before me, and expected I should have my share when I came amongst them. But, quite contrary to my expectation, when I came out, they said one to another, "Let him alone; don't meddle with him; he is no Quaker, I'll warrant you."

This struck me, and was worse to me than if they had laid their fists on me, as they did on others. I was troubled to think what the matter was, or what these rude people saw in me that made them not take me for a Quaker. And upon a close examination of myself, with respect to my habit and deportment, I could not find anything to place it on, but that I had then on my head a large mountier-cap of black velvet, the skirt of which being turned up in folds, looked, it seems, somewhat above the then common garb of a Quaker; and this put me out of conceit with my cap.

I came at this time to London from Isaac Penington's, and thither I went again in my way home; and while I staid there, amongst other friends who came thither, Thomas Loe, of Oxford, was one. A faithful and diligent labourer he was in the work of the Lord, and an excellent ministerial gift he had. And I, in my zeal for truth, being very desirous that my neighbours might have an opportunity of hearing the gospel, the glad tidings of salvation, livingly and powerfully preached among them, entered into communication with him about it; offering to procure some convenient place in the town where I lived, for a meeting to be held, and to invite my neighbours to it, if he could give me any ground to expect his company at it. He told me he was not at his own com-

mand, but at the Lord's, and he knew not how he might dispose of him; but wished me, if I found when I was come home, that the thing continued with weight upon my mind, and that I could get a fit place for a meeting, I would advertise him of it by a few lines, directed to him in Oxford, whither he was then going; and he might then let me know how his freedom stood in that matter.

When therefore I was come home, and had treated with a neighbour for a place to have a meeting in, I wrote to my friend Thomas Loe, to acquaint him that I had procured a place for a meeting, and would invite company to it, if he would fix the time, and give me some ground to hope that he would be at it.

This letter I sent by a neighbour to Thame, to be given to a dyer of Oxford, who constantly kept Thame market, with whom I was pretty well acquainted, having sometimes formerly used him, not only in his way of trade, but to carry letters between my brother and me, when he was a student in that university, for which he was always paid; and he had been so careful in the delivery, that our letters had always gone safe until now. But this time (providence so ordering, or at least for my trial permitting it) this letter of mine, instead of being delivered according to its direction, was seized and carried, as I was told, to the lord Faulkland, who was then called lord lieutenant of that county.

The occasion of this stopping of letters at that time, was that mad prank of those infatuated Fifth-monarchy-men, who from their meeting-house in Coleman street, London, breaking forth in arms, under the command of their chieftain Venner, made an insurrection in the city, on pretence of setting up the kingdom of Jesus; who, it is said, they expected would come down from heaven to be their leader. So little understood they the nature of his kingdom; though he himself had declared it was not of this world.

The king, a little before his arrival in England, had by his declaration from Breda, given assurance of liberty to tender consciences; and that no man should be disquieted, or called in question for difference of opinion in matters of religion, who did not disturb the peace of the kingdom. Upon this assurance, dissenters of all sorts relied, and held themselves secure. But now, by this frantic action of a few hot-brained men, the king was by some held discharged from his royal word and promise, in his foregoing declaration publicly given. And hereupon letters were intercepted and broken open, for discovery of suspected plots and designs against the government; and not only dissenters' meetings, of all sorts, without distinction, were disturbed, but very many were imprisoned in most parts throughout the nation; and great search there was, in all counties, for suspected persons, who, if not found at meetings, were fetched in from their own houses.

The lord lieutenant (so called) of Oxfordshire, had on this occasion taken Thomas Loe and many other of our friends at a meeting, and sent them prisoners to Oxford castle, just before my letter was brought to his hand, wherein I had invited Thomas Loe to a meeting; and he, putting the worst construction upon it, as if I (a poor simple lad) had intended a seditious meeting, in order to raise rebellion, ordered two of the deputy lieutenants, who lived nearest to me, to send a party of horse to fetch me in.

Accordingly, while I, wholly ignorant of what had passed at Oxford, was in daily expectation of an agreeable answer to my letter, came a party of horse one morning to my father's gate and asked for me. It so fell out, that my father was at that time from home, I think in London; whereupon he that commanded the party alighted, and came in. My eldest sister, hearing the noise of soldiers, came hastily up into my chamber, and told me there were soldiers below, who inquired for me. I forthwith went down to them, and found the commander was a barber of

Thame, and one who had always been my barber till I was a Quaker. His name was Whately, a bold, brisk fellow.

I asked him what his business was with me: he told me I must go with him. I demanded to see his warrant: he laid his hand on his sword, and said that was his warrant. I told him, though that was not a legal warrant, yet I would not dispute it, but was ready to bear injuries. He told me he could not help it, he was commanded to bring me forthwith before the deputy lieutenants, and therefore desired me to order a horse to be got ready, because he was in haste. I let him know I had no horse of my own; and would not meddle with any of my father's horses, in his absence especially; and that therefore, if he would have me with him, he must carry me as he could. He thereupon taking my sister aside, told her he found I was resolute, and his orders were peremptory; wherefore he desired that she would give orders for a horse, to be got ready for me, for otherwise he should be forced to mount me behind a trooper, which would be very unsuitable for me, and which he was very unwilling to do. She thereupon ordered a horse to be got ready, upon which, when I had taken leave of my sisters, I mounted, and went off, not knowing whither he intended to carry me.

He had orders, it seems, to take some others also in a neighbouring village, whose names he had, but their houses he did not know. Wherefore, as we rode, he asked me if I knew such and such men, whom he named, and where they lived; and when he understood that I knew them, he desired me to shew him their houses. "No," said I, "I scorn to be an informer against my neighbours, to bring them into trouble." He thereupon riding to and fro, found by inquiry most of their houses; but, as it happened, found none of them at home, at which I was glad.

At length he brought me to the house of one called esquire Clark, of Weston, by Thame, who

being afterwards knighted, was called sir John Clark ; a jolly man, too much addicted to drinking in soberer times, but was now grown more licentious that way, as the times did now more favour debauchery. He and I had known one another for some years, though not very intimately, having met sometimes at the lord Wenman's table. This Clark was one of the deputy-lieutenants, whom I was brought before. And he had gotten another thither to join with him in tendering me the oaths, whom I knew only by name and character ; and who was called esquire Knowls, of Grays, by Henley, and reputed a man of better morals than the other.

I was brought into the hall, and kept there ; and as Quakers were not so common then as they now are, (and indeed even yet, the more is the pity, they are not common in that part of the country,) I was made a spectacle and gazing-stock to the family, and by divers I was diversely set upon. Some spake to me courteously, with appearance of compassion ; others ruggedly, with evident tokens of wrath and scorn. But though I gave them the hearing of what they said, which I could not well avoid, yet I said little to them ; but keeping my mind as well retired as I could, I breathed to the Lord for help and strength from him to bear me up and carry me through this trial, that I might not sink under it, or be prevailed on by any means, fair or foul, to do anything that might dishonour or displease my God.

At length came forth the justices themselves, (for so they were, as well as lieutenants,) and after they had saluted me, they discoursed with me pretty familiarly ; and though Clark would sometimes be a little jocular and waggish, which was somewhat natural to him, yet Knowls treated me very civilly, not seeming to take any offence at my not standing bare before him. And when a young priest, who, as I understood, was chaplain to the family, took upon him pragmatically to reprove me for standing with my hat on.

before the magistrates, and snatched my cap from off my head, Knowls, in a pleasant manner, corrected him, telling him he mistook himself, in taking a cap for a hat, (for mine was a moun-tier-cap,) and bid him give it me again; which he though unwillingly doing, I forthwith put it on my head again, and thenceforward none meddled with me about it.

Then they began to examine me, putting divers questions to me relating to the present disturbances in the nation, occasioned by the late foolish insurrection of those frantic Fifth-monarchy-men. To all which I readily answered, according to the simplicity of my heart, and innocency of my hands; for I had neither done nor thought any evil against the government. But they endeavoured to affright me with threats of danger, telling me, with inuendoes, that for all my pretence to innocency, there was a high matter against me, which, if I would stand out, would be brought forth, and that under my own hand. I knew not what they meant by this; but I knew my innocency, and kept to it.

At length, when they saw I regarded not their threats in general, they asked me if I knew one Thomas Loe, and had written of late to him. I then remembered my letter, which till then I had not thought of, and thereupon frankly told them that I did both know Thomas Loe, and had lately written to him; but that as I knew I had written no hurt, so I did not fear any danger from that letter. They shook their heads, and said, "It was dangerous to write letters to appoint meetings in such troublesome times." They added, that by appointing a meeting, and endeavouring to gather a concourse of people together, in such a juncture especially as this was, I had rendered myself a dangerous person: and, therefore, they could do no less than tender me the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which therefore they required me to take.

I told them, if I could take an oath at all, I would

take the oath of allegiance, for I owed allegiance to the king. But I durst not take any oath, because my lord and master, Jesus Christ, had commanded me not to swear at all; and if I brake his command, I should both dishonour and displease him.

Hereupon they undertook to reason with me, and used many words to persuade me, that that command of Christ related only to common and profane swearing, not to swearing before a magistrate. I heard them, and saw the weakness of their arguings, but did not return them any answer; for I found my present business was not to dispute, but to suffer; and that it was not safe for me, in this my weak and childish state especially, to enter into reasonings with sharp, quick, witty, and learned men, lest I might thereby hurt both the cause of truth, which I was to bear witness to, and myself: therefore I chose rather to be a fool, and let them triumph over me, than by my weakness give them advantage to triumph over the truth. And my spirit being closely exercised in a deep travail towards the Lord, I earnestly begged of him, that he would be pleased to keep me faithful to the testimony he had committed to me, and not suffer me to be taken in any of the snares which the enemy laid for me. And, blessed be his holy name, he heard my cries, and preserved me out of them.

When the justices saw they could not bow me to their wills, they told me they must send me to prison. I told them I was contented to suffer whatsoever the Lord should suffer them to inflict upon me. Whereupon they withdrew into the parlour, to consult together what to do with me, leaving me meanwhile to be gazed on in the hall. After a pretty long stay they came forth to me again with great show of kindness, telling me they were very unwilling to send me to gaol, but would be as favourable to me as possibly they could; and that if I would take the oaths, they would pass by all the other matter which they had



against me. I told them I knew they could not justly have anything against me; for I had neither done nor intended anything against the government or against them. And as to the oaths, I assured them that my refusing them was merely matter of conscience to me, and that I durst not take any oath whatsoever, if it were to save my life.

When they heard this they left me again, and went and signed a mittimus to send me to prison at Oxford, and charged one of the troopers that brought me thither, who was one of the newly raised militia troop, to convey me safe to Oxford. But before we departed they called the trooper aside, and gave him private instructions, what he should do with me; which I knew nothing of till I came thither, but expected I should go directly to the castle.

It was almost dark when we took horse, and we had about nine or ten miles to ride, the weather thick and cold (for it was about the beginning of the twelfth month), and I had no boots, being snatched away from home on a sudden, which made me not care to ride very fast. And my guard, who was a tradesman in Thame, having confidence in me that I would not give him the slip, jogged on without heeding how I followed him.

When I was gone about a mile on the way, I overtook my father's man, who, without my knowledge, had followed me at a distance to Weston, and waited there abroad in the stables, till he understood by some of the servants that I was to go to Oxford; and then ran before, resolving not to leave me till he saw what they would do with me. I would have had him return home, but he desired me not to send him back, but let him run on till I came to Oxford. I considered that it was a token of the fellow's affectionate kindness to me, and that possibly I might send my horse home by him: and thereupon stopping my horse, I bid him, if he would go on, get up behind me. He modestly refused, telling me he

could run as fast as I rode. But when I told him if he would not ride he should not go forward, he, rather than leave me, leaped up behind me, and on we went.

But he was not willing I should have gone at all. He had a great cudgel in his hand, and a strong arm to use it; and being a stout fellow, he had a great mind to fight the trooper, and rescue me. Wherefore he desired me to turn my horse and ride off; and if the trooper offered to pursue, leave him to deal with him. I checked him sharply for that, and charged him to be quiet, and not think hardly of the poor trooper, who could do no other nor less than he did; and who, though he had an ill journey in going with me, carried himself civilly to me. I told him also that I had no need to fly, for I had done nothing that would bring guilt or fear upon me; neither did I go with an ill will; and this quieted the man. So on we went; but were so far cast behind the trooper, that we had lost both sight and hearing of him, and I was fain to mend my pace to get up to him again.

We came pretty late into Oxford on the seventh day of the week, which was the market-day; and, contrary to my expectation, which was to have been carried to the castle, my trooper stopped in the High street, and calling at a shop, asked for the master of the house; who coming to the door, he delivered to him the mittimus, and with it a letter from the deputy-lieutenants, or one of them, which when he had read, he asked where the prisoner was. Whereupon the soldier pointing to me, he desired me to alight and come in; which when I did, he received me civilly. The trooper, being discharged of his prisoner, marched back, and my father's man, seeing me settled in better quarters than he expected, mounted my horse, and went off with him.

I did not presently understand the quality of my keeper, but I found him a genteel, courteous man, by trade a linen-draper; and, as I afterwards under-

stood, he was city-marshal, had a command in the county troop, and was a person of good repute in the place: his name was — Galloway.

Whether I was committed to him out of regard to my father, that I might not be thrust into a common jail, or out of politic design, to keep me from the conversation of my friends, in hopes that I might be drawn to abandon this profession, which I had but lately taken up, I do not know. But this I know, that though I wanted no civil treatment, nor kind accommodations where I was, yet after once I understood that many friends were prisoners in the castle, and amongst the rest Thomas Loe, I had much rather have been amongst them there, with all the inconveniences they underwent, than where I was, with the best entertainment. But this was my present lot, and therefore with this I endeavoured to be content.

It was quickly known in the city, that a Quaker was brought in prisoner and committed to the marshal. Whereupon, the men friends being generally prisoners already in the castle, some of the women friends came to inquire after me, and to visit me; as Silas Norton's wife, and Thomas Loe's wife, who were sisters, and another woman friend, who lived in the same street where I was, whose husband was not a Quaker, but kindly affected towards them, a baker by trade, and his name, as I remember, — Ryland.

By some of these an account was soon given to the friends who were prisoners in the castle, of my being taken up, and brought prisoner to the marshal's: whercupon it pleased the Lord to move on the heart of my dear friend Thomas Loe, to salute me with a very tender and affectionate letter, in the following terms:—

“ My beloved Friend,

“ In the truth and love of the Lord Jesus, by which life and salvation is revealed in the saints, is

my dear love unto thee, and in much tenderness do I salute thee. And, dear heart, a time of trial God hath permitted to come upon us, to try our faith and love to him; and this will work for the good of them that through patience endure to the end. And I believe God will be glorified through our sufferings, and his name will be exalted in the patience and long-suffering of his chosen. When I heard that thou wast called into this trial, with the servants of the Most High, to give thy testimony to the truth of what we have believed, it came into my heart to write unto thee, and to greet thee with embraces of the power of an endless life; wherein our faith stands, and unity is felt with the saints for ever. Well, my dear friend, let us live in the pure counsel of the Lord, and dwell in his strength, which gives us power and sufficiency to endure all things for his name's sake; and then our crown and reward will be with the Lord for ever, and the blessings of his heavenly kingdom will be our portion. O, dear heart! let us give up all freely into the will of God, that God may be glorified by us, and we comforted together in the Lord Jesus; which is the desire of my soul, who am, thy dear and loving friend in the eternal truth,

“THOMAS LOE.

“We are more than forty here, who suffer innocently for the testimony of a good conscience, because we cannot swear, and break Christ's commands: and we are all well; and the blessing and presence of God are with us. Friends here salute thee. Farewell!

“The power and the wisdom of the Lord God be with thee. Amen!”

Greatly was my spirit refreshed, and my heart gladdened, at the reading of this consolating letter from my friend; and my soul blessed the Lord for his love and tender goodness to me in moving his servant to write thus unto me. But I had cause soon

after to double and redouble my thankful acknowledgment to the Lord my God, who put it into the heart of my dear friend Isaac Penington also to visit me with some encouraging lines from Aylesbury jail, where he was then a prisoner; and from whence (having heard that I was carried prisoner to Oxford) he thus saluted me:—

“ Dear Thomas,

“ Great hath been the Lord’s goodness to thee, in calling thee out of that path of vanity and death, wherein thou wast running towards destruction; to give thee a living name, and an inheritance of life among his people; which certainly will be the end of thy faith in him, and obedience to him. And let it not be a light thing in thine eyes, that he now accounteth thee worthy to suffer among his choice lambs, that he might make thy crown weightier, and thy inheritance the fuller. O that that eye and heart may be open in thee, which knoweth the value of these things! and that thou mayst be kept close to the feelings of the life, and that thou mayst be fresh in thy spirit in the midst of thy sufferings, and mayst reap the benefit of them; finding that pared off thereby, which hindereth the bubblings of the everlasting springs, and maketh unfit for the breaking forth and enjoyment of the pure power! This is the brief salutation of my dear love to thee, which desireth thy strength and settlement in the power, and the utter weakening of thee as to self. My dear love is to thee, with dear Thomas Goodyare, and the rest of imprisoned friends.

“ I remain, thine in the truth, to which the Lord my God preserve thee single and faithful,

“ I. PENINGTON.

“ From Aylesbury Jail,  
the 14th of the 12th Month, 1660.”

Though these epistolary visits in the love of God were very comfortable and confirming to me, and my

heart was thankful to the Lord for them ; yet I honed after personal conversation with friends : and it was hard, I thought, that there should be so many faithful servants of God so near me, yet I should not be permitted to come at them, to enjoy their company, and reap both the pleasure and benefit of their sweet society. For, although my marshal-keeper was very kind to me, and allowed me the liberty of his house, yet he was not willing I should be seen abroad ; the rather, perhaps, because he understood I had been pretty well known in that city. Yet once the friendly baker got him to let me step over to his house ; and once, and but once, I prevailed with him to let me visit my friends in the castle ; but it was with these conditions, that I should not go forth till it was dark, that I would muffle myself up in my cloak, and that I would not stay out late : all which I punctually observed.

When I came thither, though there were many friends prisoners, I scarcely knew one of them by face, except Thomas Loe, whom I had once seen at Isaac Penington's ; nor did any of them know me, though they had generally heard that such a young man as I was convinced of the truth, and come among friends. Our salutation to each other was very grave and solemn ; nor did we entertain one another with much talk, or with common discourses ; but most of the little time I had with them was spent in a silent retiredness of spirit, waiting upon the Lord. Yet, before we parted, we imparted one to another some of the exercises we had gone through ; and they seeming willing to understand the ground and manner of my commitment, I gave a brief account thereof, letting Thomas Loe more particularly know that I had directed a letter to him, which, having fallen into the hand of the lord lieutenant, was, so far as I could learn, the immediate cause of my being taken up.

Having staid with them as long as my limited time

would permit, which I thought was but very short, that I might keep touch with my keeper, and come home in due time, I took leave of my friends there, and with mutual embraces parting, returned to my (in some sense more easy, but in others less easy) prison, where, after this, I staid not long before I was brought back to my father's house. For after my father was come home, who, as I observed before, was from home when I was taken, he applied himself to those justices that had committed me, and not having disobliged them when he was in office, easily obtained to have me sent home, which between him and them was thus contrived.

There was about this time a general muster and training of the militia forces at Oxford, whither, on that occasion, came the lord-lieutenant and deputy-lieutenants of the county, of which number they who committed me were two. When they had been awhile together and the marshal with them, he stepped suddenly in, and in haste told me I must get ready quickly to go out of town, and that a soldier would come by and by to go with me. This said, he hastened to them again, not giving me any intimation how I was to go, or whither.

I needed not much time to get ready in ; but I was uneasy in thinking what the friends of the town would think of this my sudden and private removal ; and I feared lest any report should be raised that I had purchased my liberty by an unfaithful compliance. Wherefore I was in care how to speak with some friend about it ; and that friendly baker, whose wife was a friend, living on the other side of the street at a little distance, I went out at a back door, intending to step over the way to their house, and return immediately.

It so fell out that some of the lieutenants, of whom esquire Clark, who committed me, was one, were standing in the balcony at a great inn or tavern, just over the place where I was to go by ; and he spying

me, called out to the soldiers, who stood thick in the street, to stop me. They being generally gentlemen's servants, and many of them knowing me, did civilly forbear to lay hold on me, but calling modestly after me, said: "Stay, sir, stay; pray come back." I heard, but was not willing to hear, therefore rather mended my pace, that I might get within the door. But he calling earnestly after me, and charging them to stop me, some of them were fain to run, and laying hold on me before I could open the door, brought me back to my place again. Being thus disappointed, I took a pen and ink, and wrote a few lines, which I sealed up, and gave to the apprentice in the shop, who had carried himself handsomely towards me, and desired him to deliver it to that friend who was their neighbour; which he promised to do.

By that time I had done this, came the soldier that was appointed to conduct me out of town. I knew the man, for he lived within a mile of me, being, through poverty, reduced to keep an ale-house; but he had lived in better fashion, having kept an inn at Thame, and by that means knew how to behave himself civilly, and did so to me. He told me he was ordered to wait on me to Wheatley, and to tarry there at such an inn, until esquire Clark came thither, who would then take me home with him in his coach. Accordingly to Wheatley we walked, which is from Oxford some four or five miles, and long we had not been there before Clark, and a great company of rude men, came in. He alighted, and staid awhile to eat and drink (though he came but from Oxford), and invited me to eat with him; but I, though I had need enough, refused it; for indeed their conversation was a burthen to my life, and made me often think of and pity good Lot.

He seemed, at that time, to be in a sort of mixed temper, between pleasantness and sourness. He would sometimes joke (which was natural to him), and cast out a jesting flirt at me; but he would rail



maliciously against the Quakers. "If," said he to me, "the king would authorise me to do it, I would not leave a Quaker alive in England, except you. I would make no more," added he, "to set my pistol to their ears, and shoot them through the head, than I would to kill a dog." I told him I was sorry he had so ill an opinion of the Quakers, but I was glad he had no cause for it, and I hoped he would be of a better mind. I had in my hand a little walking-stick, with a head on it, which he commended, and took out of my hand to look on it; but I saw his intention was to search it, whether it had a tuck in it, for he tried to draw the head; but when he found it was fast, he returned it to me.

He told me I should ride with him to his house in his coach, which was nothing pleasant to me; for I had rather have gone on foot, as bad as the ways were, that I might have been out of his company. Wherefore I took no notice of any kindness in the offer, but only answered, I was at his disposal, not mine own. But when we were ready to go, the marshal came to me, and told me if I pleased I should ride his horse, and he would go in the coach with Mr Clark. I was glad of the offer, and only told him he should take out his pistols then, for I would not ride with them. He took them out, and laid them in the coach by him, and away we went.

It was a very fine beast that I was set on, by much the best in the company. But though she was very tall, yet the ways being very foul, I found it needful, as soon as I was out of town, to alight and take up the stirrups. Meanwhile, they driving hard on, I was so far behind, that being at length missed by the company, a soldier was sent back to look after me. As soon as I had fitted my stirrups, and was remounted, I gave the rein to my mare, which being courageous and nimble, and impatient of delay, made great speed to recover the company. And in a narrow passage, the soldier (who was my barber that

had fetched me from home) and I met upon so brisk a gallop, that we had enough to do on either side to take up our horses and avoid a brush.

When we were come to Weston, where esquire Clark lived, he took the marshal, and some others with him, into the parlour; but I was left in the hall, to be exposed a second time for the family to gaze on. At length himself came out to me, leading in his hand a beloved daughter of his, a young woman of about eighteen years of age, who wanted nothing to make her comely, but gravity. An airy piece she was, and very merry she made herself at me. After they had made themselves as much sport with me as they would, the marshal took his leave of them, and mounting me on a horse of Clark's, had me home to my father's that night.

Next morning, before the marshal went away, my father and he consulted together how to entangle me. I felt there were snares laid, but I did not know in what manner or to what end, till the marshal was ready to go. And then, coming where I was to take his leave of me, he desired me to take notice, that although he had brought me home to my father's house again, yet I was not discharged from my imprisonment, but was his prisoner still; and that he had committed me to the care of my father, to see me forthcoming whenever I should be called for. And therefore he expected I should in all things observe my father's orders, and not go out at any time from the house without his leave.

Now I plainly saw the snare, and to what end it was laid: and I asked him if this device was not contrived to keep me from going to meetings: he said, I must not go to meetings. Whereupon I desired him to take notice, that I would not own myself a prisoner to any man while I continued here. That if he had power to detain me prisoner, he might take me back again with him if he would, and I should not refuse to go with him. But I bid him assure

himself, that while I was at home, I would take my liberty both to go to meetings, and to visit friends. He smiled and said, if I would be resolute he could not help it; and so took his leave of me. By this I perceived that the plot was of my father's laying, to bring me under such an engagement as should tie me from going to meetings; and thereupon I expected I should have a new exercise from my father.

It was the constant manner of my father to have all the keys of the outer doors of his house (which were four, and those linked upon a chain) brought up into his chamber every night, and fetched out from thence in the morning; so that none could come in or go out in the night without his knowledge. I knowing this, suspected that if I got not out before my father came down, I should be stopped from going out at all that day. Wherefore, the passage from my chamber lying by his chamber door, I went down softly without my shoes, and as soon as the maid had opened the door, I went out, though too early, and walked towards the meeting at Meadle, four long miles off.

I expected to be talked with about it when I came home, but heard nothing of it, my father resolving to watch me better next time. This I was aware of; and therefore on the next first-day I got up early, went down softly, and hid myself in a back room before the maid was stirring. When she was up, she went into my father's chamber for the keys; but he bid her leave them till he was up, and he would bring them down himself; which he did, and tarried in the kitchen, through which he expected I would go. The manner was, that when the common doors were opened, the keys were hung upon a pin in the hall. While therefore my father staid in the kitchen expecting my coming, I, stepping gently out of the room where I was, reached the keys, and opening another door not often used, slipped out, and so got away.

I thought I had gone off undiscovered : but whether my father saw me through a window, or by what means he knew of my going, I know not ; but I had gone but a little way before I saw him coming after me. The sight of him put me to a stand in my mind whether I should go on or stop. Had it been in any other case than that of going to a meeting, I could not in anywise have gone a step farther. But I considered that the intent of my father's endeavouring to stop me was to hinder me from obeying the call of my Heavenly Father, and to stop me from going to worship him in the assembly of his people ; upon this I found it my duty to go on, and observing that my father gained ground upon me, I somewhat mended my pace. This he observing, mended his pace also, and at length ran. Whereupon I ran also, and a fair course we had through a large meadow of his, which lay behind his house, and out of sight of the town. He was not, I suppose, then above fifty years of age, and being light of body, and nimble of foot, he held me to it for a while. But afterwards slackening his pace to take breath, and observing that I had gotten ground of him, he turned back and went home ; and, as I afterwards understood, telling my sisters how I had served him, he said : " Nay, if he will take so much pains to go, let him go if he will." And from that time forward he never attempted to stop me, but left me to my liberty, to go when and whither I would ; yet kept me at the usual distance, avoiding the sight of me as much as he could, as not able to bear the sight of my hat on, nor willing to contend with me again about it.

Nor was it long after this before I was left not only to myself, but in a manner by myself. For the time appointed for the coronation of the king (which was the 23d of the fourth month, called April) drawing on, my father, taking my two sisters with him, went up to London some time before, that they might be there in readiness, and put themselves into a condi-

tion to see that so great a solemnity; leaving nobody in the house but myself and a couple of servants. And though this was intended only for a visit on that occasion, yet it proved the breaking of the family; for he bestowed both his daughters there in marriage, and took lodgings for himself, so that afterwards they never returned to settle at Crowell.

Being now at liberty, I walked over to Aylesbury, with some other friends, to visit my dear friend Isaac Penington, who was still a prisoner there. With him I found dear John Whitehead, and between sixty and seventy more, being well nigh all the men friends that were then in the county of Bucks; many of them were taken out of their houses by armed men, and sent to prison, as I had been, for refusing to swear. Most of these were thrust into an old room behind the gaol, which had anciently been a malt-house, but was now decayed, that it was scarce fit for a dog-house. And so open it lay, that the prisoners might have gone out at pleasure. But these were purposely put there, in confidence that they would not go out, that there might be room in the prison for others, of other professions and names, whom the gaoler did not trust there.

While this imprisonment lasted, which was for some months, I went afterwards thither sometimes to visit my suffering brethren; and because it was a pretty long way (some eight or nine miles, too far to be walked forward and backward in one day), I sometimes staid a day or two there, and lay in the malt-house among my friends, with whom I delighted to be.

After this imprisonment was over, I went sometimes to Isaac Penington's house at Chalfont, to visit that family, and the friends thereabouts. There was then a meeting, for the most part, twice a week in his house; but one first-day in four there was a more general meeting, which was thence called the monthly meeting, to which resorted most of the friends of other

adjacent meetings; and to that I usually went, and sometimes made some stay there.

Here I became acquainted with a friend of London, whose name was Richard Greenaway, by trade a tailor, a very honest man, and one who had received a gift for the ministry. He, having been formerly in other professions of religion, had then been acquainted with one John Ovy, of Watlington, in Oxfordshire, a man of some note among the professors there; and understanding, upon inquiry, that I knew him, he had some discourse with me about him. The result whereof was, that he, having an intention then shortly to visit some meetings of friends in this county, and the adjoining parts of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, invited me to meet him, upon notice given, and to bear him company in that journey; and in the way bring him to John Ovy's house, with whom I was well acquainted: which I did.

We were kindly received, the man and his wife being very glad to see both their old friend Richard Greenaway, and me also, whom they had been very well acquainted with formerly, but had never seen me since I was a Quaker. Here we tarried that night, and in the evening had a little meeting there with some few of John Ovy's people, amongst whom Richard Greenaway declared the truth; which they attentively heard, and did not oppose, which at that time of day we reckoned was pretty well; for many were apt to cavil.

This visit gave John Ovy an opportunity to enquire of me after Isaac Penington, whose writings (those which he had written before he came among friends) he had read, and had a great esteem of; and he expressed a desire to see him, that he might have some discourse with him, if he knew how. Whereupon I told him, that if he would take the pains to go to his house, I would bear him company thither, introduce him, and engage he should have a kind reception.

This pleased him much ; and he embracing the offer, I undertook to give him notice of a suitable time ; which (after I had gone this little journey with my friend Richard Greenaway, and was returned) I did, making choice of the monthly meeting to go to.

We met by appointment at Stoken church, with our staves in our hands, like a couple of pilgrims, intending to walk on foot, and having taken some refreshment and rest at Wycombe, went on cheerfully in the afternoon, entertaining each other with grave and religious discourse, which made the walk the easier ; and so reached thither in good time, on the seventh day of the week.

I gave my friends an account who this person was, whom I had brought to visit them, and the ground of his visit. He had been a professor of religion from his childhood to his old age (for he was now both grey-headed and elderly), and was a teacher at this time, and had long been so amongst a people, whether Independents or Baptists I do not well remember. And so well thought of he was, for his zeal and honesty, that in these late professing times, he was thrust into the commission of the peace, and thereby lifted upon the bench ; which neither became him, nor he it : for he wanted indeed most of the qualifications requisite for a justice of the peace ; an estate to defray the charge of the office, and to bear him up in a course of living above contempt ; a competent knowledge in the laws, and a presence of mind or body, or both, to keep offenders in some awe ; in all which he was deficient. For he was but a fellmonger by trade, accustomed to ride upon his pack of skins, and had very little estate, as little knowledge of the law, and of but a mean presence and appearance to look on. But as my father, I suppose, was the means of getting him put into the commission, so he, I know, did what he could to countenance him in it, and help him through it at every turn, till that turn came, at the king's return, which turned them both out together.

My friends received me in affectionate kindness, and my companion with courteous civility. The evening was spent in common but grave conversation; for it was not a proper season for private discourse, both as we were somewhat weary with our walk, and there were other companies of friends come into the family, to be at the meeting next day. But in the morning I took John Ovy into a private walk, in a pleasant grove near the house, whither Isaac Penington came to us; and there, in discourse, both answered all his questions, objections, and doubts, and opened to him the principles of truth, to both his admiration and present satisfaction. Which done, we went in to take some refreshment before the meeting began.

Of those friends who were come over night, in order to be at the meeting, there was Isaac's brother, William Penington, a merchant of London, and with him a friend whose name I have forgotten, a grocer, of Colchester, in Essex; and there was also our friend George Whitehead, whom I had not, that I remember, seen before.

The nation had been in a ferment ever since that mad action of the frantic Fifth-monarchy-men, and was not yet settled; but storms, like thunder showers, flew here and there by coast, so that we could not promise ourselves any safety or quiet in our meetings. And though they had escaped disturbance for some little time before, yet so it fell out, that a party of horse were appointed to come and break up the meeting that day, though we knew nothing of it till we heard and saw them.

The meeting was scarcely fully gathered when they came. But we that were in the family, and many others, were settled in it in great peace and stillness, when on a sudden the prancing of the horses gave notice that a disturbance was at hand. We all sat still in our places, except my companion John Ovy, who sat next to me. But he being of a profession that ap-



proved Peter's advice to his lord, "to save himself," soon took the alarm, and with the nimbleness of a stripling, cutting a caper over the form that stood before him, ran quickly out at a private door which he had before observed, which led through the parlour into the gardens, and from thence into an orchard; where he hid himself in a place so obscure, and withal so convenient for his intelligence by observation of what passed, that any one of the family could scarce have found a likelier.

By that time he was got into a burrow, came the soldiers in, being a party of the county troop, commanded by Matthew Archdale, of Wycombe. He behaved himself civilly, and said he was commanded to break up the meeting, and carry the men before a justice of the peace; but he said he would not take all; and thereupon began to pick and choose, chiefly as his eye guided him, for I suppose he knew very few. He took Isaac Penington and his brother, George Whitehead, and the friend of Colchester, and me, with three or four more of the county, who belonged to that meeting. He was not fond of the work, and that made him take no more. But he must take some, he said, and bid us provide to go with him before sir William Boyer, of Denham, who was a justice of the peace. Isaac Penington, being but weakly, rode, but the rest of us walked thither, it being about four miles.

When we came there, the justice carried himself civilly to us all, courteously to Isaac Penington, as being a gentleman of his neighbourhood; and there was nothing charged against us, but that we were met together without word or deed. Yet this being contrary to a late proclamation, given forth upon the rising of the Fifth-monarchy-men, whereby all dissenters' meetings were forbidden, the justice could do no less than take notice of us. Wherefore he examined all of us whom he did not personally know, asking our names, and the places of our respective

habitations. But when he had them, and considered from what distant parts of the nation we came, he was amazed. For George Whitehead was of Westmorland, in the north of England; the grocer was of Essex; I was of Oxfordshire; and William Penington was of London. Hereupon he told us, that our case looked ill, and he was sorry for it: "For how," said he, "can it be imagined that so many could jump altogether at one time and place, from such remote quarters and parts of the kingdom, if it was not by combination and appointment?"

He was answered, that we were so far from coming thither by agreement or appointment, that none of us knew of the others' coming; and, for the most of us, we had never seen one another before; and that therefore he might impute it to chance, or, if he pleased, to providence.

He urged upon us, that an insurrection had been lately made by armed men, who pretended to be more religious than others; that that insurrection had been plotted and contrived in their meeting-house, where they assembled under colour of worshipping God; that in their meeting-house they hid their arms, and armed themselves, and out of their meeting-house issued forth in arms, and killed many; so that the government could not be safe, unless such meetings were suppressed. We replied, we hoped he would distinguish and make a difference between the guilty and the innocent, and between those who were principled for fighting, and those who were principled against it; which we were, and had been always known to be so. That our meetings were public, our doors standing open to all comers, of all ages, sexes, and persuasions; men, women, and children, and those that were not of our religion, as well as those that were; and that it was next to madness for people to plot in such meetings.

He told us we must find sureties for our good behaviour, and to answer our contempt of the king's

proclamation at the next general quarter sessions; or else he must commit us. We told him, that knowing our innocency, and that we had not misbehaved ourselves, nor did meet in contempt of the king's authority, but purely in obedience to the Lord's requireing to worship him, which we held ourselves in duty bound to do, we could not consent to be bound, for that would imply guilt, which we were free from. "Then," said he, "I must commit you;" and ordered his clerk to make a mittimus. And divers mittimuses were made, but none of them would hold; for still, when they came to be read, we found such flaws in them, as made him throw them aside and write more.

He had his eye often upon me, for I was a young man, and had at that time a black suit on. At length he bid me follow him, and went into a private room, and shut the door upon me. I knew not what he meant by this; but I cried in spirit to the Lord, that he would be pleased to be a mouth and wisdom to me, and keep me from being entangled in any snare. He asked me many questions concerning my birth, my education, my acquaintance in Oxfordshire, particularly what men of note I knew there. To all which I gave him brief, but plain and true answers, naming several families of the best rank in that part of the country where I dwelt. He asked me how long I had been of this way, and how I came to be of it. Which when I had given him some account of, he began to persuade me to leave it and return to the right way, the church, as he called it. I desired him to spare his pains in that respect, and forbear any discourse of that kind, for that I was fully satisfied the way I was in was the right way, and hoped the Lord would so preserve me in it, that nothing should be able to draw or drive me out of it. He seemed not pleased with that, and thereupon went out to the rest of the company, and I followed him, glad in my heart that I had escaped so well, and praising God for my deliverance.

When he had taken his seat again at the upper end of a fair hall, he told us he was not willing to take the utmost rigour of the law against us, but would be as favourable to us as he could. And therefore he would discharge, he said, Mr Penington himself, because he was at home in his own house. And he would discharge Mr Penington of London, because he came but as a relation to visit his brother. And he would discharge the grocer of Colchester, because he came to bear Mr Penington of London company, and to be acquainted with Mr Isaac Penington, whom he had never seen before. And as for those others of us who were of this county, he would discharge them, for the present at least, because they being his neighbours, he could send for them when he would. "But as for you," said he to George Whitehead and me, "I can see no business you had there, and therefore I intend to hold you to it, either to give bail, or go to gaol."

We told him we could not give bail. "Then," said he, "you must go to gaol;" and thereupon he began to write our mittimus; which puzzled him again. For he had discharged so many that he was at a loss what to lay as the ground of our commitment, whose case differed nothing in reality from theirs whom he had discharged. At length, having made divers draughts, which still George Whitehead showed him the defects of, he seemed to be weary of us; and rising up said unto us: "I consider that it is grown late in the day, so that the officer cannot carry you to Aylesbury to-night, and I suppose you will be willing to go back with Mr Penington; therefore if you will be forthcoming at his house tomorrow morning, I will dismiss you for the present, and you shall hear from me again tomorrow." We told him we did intend, if he did not otherwise dispose of us, to spend that night with our friend Isaac Penington, and would, if the Lord gave us leave, be there in the morning, ready to answer his enquiries. Whereupon he dismissed us all, willing, as we thought, to be rid of us; for he seemed not to be of an ill

temper, nor desirous to put us to trouble if he could help it.

Back then we went to Isaac Penington's. But when we were come thither, oh! the work we had with poor John Ovy! He was so dejected in mind, so covered with shame and confusion of face for his cowardliness, that we had enough to do to pacify him towards himself. The place he had found out to shelter himself in was so commodiously contrived, that undiscovered he could discern when the soldiers went off with us, and understand when the bustle was over, and the coast clear. Whereupon he adventured to peep out of his hole, and in a while drew near by degrees to the house again; and finding all things quiet and still, he adventured to step within the doors, and found the friends who were left behind, peaceably settled in the meeting again.

The sight of this smote him, and made him sit down among them. And after the meeting was ended, and the friends departed to their several homes, addressing himself to Mary Penington, as the mistress of the house, he could not enough magnify the bravery and courage of the friends, nor sufficiently debase himself. He told how long he had been a professor, what pains he had taken, what hazards he had run, in his youthful days, to get to meetings; how, when the ways were forelaid, and passages stopped, he swam through rivers to reach a meeting: "and now," said he, "that I am grown old in the profession of religion, and have long been an instructor and encourager of others—that I should thus shamefully fall short myself, is matter of shame and sorrow to me." Thus he bewailed himself to her. And when we came back, he renewed his complaints of himself to us, with high aggravations of his own cowardice; which gave occasion to some of the friends tenderly to represent to him the difference between profession and possession, form and power.

He was glad, he said, on our behalf, that we came

off so well, and escaped imprisonment. But when he understood that George Whitehead and I were liable to an after-reckoning next morning, he was troubled, and wished the morning was come and gone, that we might be gone with it.

We spent the evening in grave conversation, and in religious discourses, attributing the deliverance we hitherto had to the Lord. And the next morning, when we were up and had eaten, we tarried some time to see what the justice would do further with us, and to discharge our agreement to him; the rest of the friends, who were before fully discharged, tarrying also with us to see the event. And when we had staid so long, that on all hands it was concluded we might safely go, George Whitehead and I left a few words in writing to be sent to the justice, if he sent after us, importing that we had tarried till such an hour, and not hearing from him, did now hold ourselves free to depart; yet so, as that if he should have occasion to send for us again, upon notice thereof we would return.

This done, we took our leave of the family, and one of another; they who were for London taking horse, and I and my companion, setting forth on foot for Oxfordshire, went to Wycombe, where we made a short stay to rest and refresh ourselves, and from thence reached our respective homes that night.

After I had spent some time at home, where, as I had no restraint, so, my sisters being gone, I had now no society, I walked up to Chalfont again, and spent a few days with my friends there.

As soon as I came in, I was told that my father had been there that day to see Isaac Penington and his wife; but they being abroad at a meeting, he returned to his inn in the town, where he intended to lodge that night. After supper Mary Penington told me she had a mind to go and see him at his inn, (the woman of the house being a friend of ours,) and I went with her. He seemed somewhat surprised to see me there,

because he thought I had been at home at his house; but he took no notice of my hat, at least shewed no offence at it; for, as I afterwards understood, he had now an intention to sell his estate, and thought he should need my concurrence therein, which made him now hold it necessary to admit me again into some degree of favour. After we had tarried some little time with him, she rising up to be gone, he waited on her home, and having spent about an hour with us in the family, I waited on him back to his inn. On the way, he invited me to come up to London to see my sisters, the younger of whom was then newly married; and directed me where to find them, and also gave me money to defray my charges. Accordingly I went; yet staid not long there, but returned to my friend Isaac Penington's, where I made a little stay, and from thence went back to Crowell.

When I was ready to set forth, my friend Isaac Penington was so kind as to send a servant, with a couple of horses, to carry me as far as I thought fit to ride, and to bring the horses back. I, intending to go no farther that day than to Wycombe, rode no farther than to Beaconsfield town's end, having then but five miles to walk. But here a new exercise befell me, the manner of which was thus.

Before I had walked to the middle of the town, I was stopped and taken up by the watch. I asked the watchman what authority he had to stop me travelling peaceably on the highway: he told me he would shew me his authority; and in order thereunto, had me into a house hard by, where dwelt a scrivener, whose name was Pepys. To him he gave the order which he had received from the constable, which directed him to take up all rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars. I asked him for which of these he stopped me, but he could not answer me. I thereupon informed him what a rogue in law is; viz. one, who for some notorious offence, was burnt on the shoulder: and I told them they might search me if

they pleased, and see if I was so branded. A vagabond, I told them, was one that had no dwelling-house, nor certain place of abode; but I had, and was going to it, and I told them where it was. And for a beggar, I bid them bring any one that could say I had begged, or asked relief.

This stopped the fellow's mouth, yet he would not let me go; but, being both weak-headed and strong-willed, he left me there with the scrivener, and went out to seek the constable, and having found him; brought him thither. He was a young man, by trade a tanner, somewhat better mannered than his wardman, but not of much better judgment. He took me with him to his house; and having settled me there; went out to take advice, as I supposed, what to do with me, leaving nobody in the house to guard me but his wife, who had a young child in her arms.

She inquired of me upon what account I was taken up, and seeming to have some pity for me, endeavoured to persuade me not to stay, but to go my way; offering to shew me a back way from their house, which would bring me into the road again beyond the town, so that none of the town should see me, or know what was become of me. But I told her I could not do so. Then having sat a while in a muse; she asked me if there was not a place of scripture which said, Peter was at a tanner's house; I told her there was such a scripture, and directed her where to find it. After some time she laid her child to sleep in the cradle, and stepped out on a sudden, but came not in again in a pretty while.

I was uneasy that I was left alone in the house; fearing lest if anything should be missing I might be suspected to have taken it; yet I durst not go out to stand in the street, lest it should be thought I intended to slip away. But besides that, I soon found work to employ myself in; for the child quickly waking, fell to crying, and I was fain to rock the cradle in my own defence, that I might not be



annoyed with a noise, to me not more unpleasant than unusual. At length the woman came in again, and finding me nursing the child, gave me many thanks, and seemed well pleased with my company.

When night came on, the constable himself came in again, and told me some of the chief of the town were met together, to consider what was fit to do with me, and that I must go with him to them. I went, and he brought me to a little nasty hut, which they called a town-house, adjoining to their market-house, in which dwelt a poor old woman, whom they called mother Grime, where also the watch used by turns to come in and warm themselves in the night. When I came in among them, they looked (some of them) somewhat sourly on me, and asked me some impertinent questions, to which I gave them suitable answers. Then they consulted one with another how they should dispose of me that night, till they could have me before some justice of peace to be examined. Some proposed that I should be had to some inn, or other public house, and a guard set on me there. He that started this was probably an inn-keeper, and consulted his own interest. Others objected against this, that it would bring a charge on the town. To avoid which, they were for having the watch take charge of me, and keep me walking about the streets with them till morning. Most voices seemed to go this way; till a third wished them to consider whether they could answer the doing of that, and the law would bear them out in it: and this put them to a stand. I heard all their debates, but let them alone, and kept my mind to the Lord.

While they thus bandied the matter to and fro, one of the company asked the rest, if any of them knew who this young man was, and whither he was going: whereupon the constable (to whom I had given both my name and the name of the town where I dwelt) told them my name was Ellwood, and that I lived at a town called Crowell, in Oxfordshire. Old mother

Grime, sitting by and hearing this, clapped her hand on her knee, and cried out: "I know Mr Ellwood of Crowell very well; for when I was a maid I lived with his grandfather there, when he was a young man." And thereupon she gave them such an account of my father, as made them look more regardfully on me; and so mother Grime's testimony turned the scale, and took me off from walking the rounds with the watch that night.

The constable hereupon bid them take no farther care, I should lie at his house that night; and accordingly took me home with him, where I had as good accommodation as the house did afford. Before I went to bed, he told me that there was to be a visitation, or spiritual court (as he called it), holden next day at Amersham, about four miles from Beaconsfield, and that I was to be carried thither.

This was a new thing to me, and it brought a fresh exercise upon my mind. But being given up, in the will of God, to suffer what he should permit to be laid on me, I endeavoured to keep my mind quiet and still. In the morning, as soon as I was up, my spirit was exercised towards the Lord, in strong cries to him, that he would stand by me, and preserve me, and not suffer me to be taken in the snare of the wicked. While I was thus crying to the Lord, the other constable came, and I was called down. This was a budge fellow, and talked high. He was a shoemaker by trade, and his name was Clark. He threatened me with the spiritual court. But when he saw I did not regard it, he stopped, and left the matter to his partner, who pretended more kindness for me, and therefore went about to persuade Clark to let me go out at the back door, and so slip away.

The plot, I suppose, was so laid, that Clark should seem averse, but at length yield, which he did; but would have me take it for a favour. But I was so far from taking it so, that I would not take it at all,

but told them plainly, that as I came in at the fore door, so I would go out at the fore door. When therefore they saw they could not bow me to their will, they brought me out at the fore door into the street, and wished me a good journey. Yet before I went, calling for the woman of the house, I paid her for my supper and lodging, for I had now got a little money in my pocket again.

After this I got home, as I thought very well, but I had not been long at home before an illness seized on me which proved to be the small-pox. Of which so soon as friends had notice, I had a nurse sent me; and in a while Isaac Penington and his wife's daughter, Gulielma Maria Springett, to whom I had been a play-fellow in our infancy, came to visit me, bringing with them our dear friend Edward Burrough, by whose ministry I was called to the knowledge of the truth.

It pleased the Lord to deal favourably with me in this illness, both inwardly and outwardly. For his supporting presence was with me, which kept my spirit near unto him; and though the distemper was strong upon me, yet I was preserved through it, and my countenance was not much altered by it. But after I was got up again, and while I kept my chamber, wanting some employment for entertainment's sake, to spend the time with, and there being at hand a pretty good library of books, amongst which were the works of Augustine, and others of those ancient writers, who were by many called the fathers, I betook myself to reading. And these books being printed in the old black letter, with abbreviations of the words, difficult to be read, I spent too much time therein, and thereby much impaired my sight, which was not strong before, and was now weaker than usual by reason of the illness I had so newly had; which proved an injury to me afterwards; for which reason I here mention it.

After I was well enough to go abroad, with respect to my own health, and the safety of others, I went

up, in the beginning of the twelfth month, 1661, to my friend Isaac Penington's, at Chalfont, and abode there some time, for the airing myself more fully, that I might be more fit for conversation.

I mentioned before, that when I was a boy I had made some good progress in learning, and lost it all again before I came to be a man; nor was I rightly sensible of my loss therein, until I came amongst the Quakers. But then I both saw my loss and lamented it; and applied myself with the utmost diligence, at all leisure times, to recover it; so false I found that charge to be which in those times was cast as a reproach upon the Quakers, that they despised and decried all human learning, because they denied it to be essentially necessary to a gospel ministry, which was one of the controversies of those times.

But though I toiled hard, and spared no pains to regain what once I had been master of, yet I found it a matter of so great difficulty, that I was ready to say, as the noble eunuch to Philip in another case, "How can I, unless I had some man to guide me?" This I had formerly complained of to my especial friend Isaac Penington, but now more earnestly, which put him upon considering and contriving a means for my assistance. He had an intimate acquaintance with Dr Paget, a physician of note in London, and he with John Milton, a gentleman of great note for learning throughout the learned world, for the accurate pieces he had written on various subjects and occasions. This person, having filled a public station in the former times, lived now a private and retired life in London, and having wholly lost his sight, kept always a man to read to him, who usually was the son of some gentleman of his acquaintance, whom in kindness he took to improve in his learning.

Thus, by the mediation of my friend Isaac Penington with Dr Paget, and Dr Paget with John Milton, was I admitted to come to him, not as a servant to him, (which at that time he needed not,) nor

to be in the house with him, but only to have the liberty of coming to his house at certain hours when I would, and to read to him what books he should appoint me, which was all the favour I desired. But this being a matter which would require some time to bring it about, I, in the meanwhile, returned to my father's house in Oxfordshire.

I had before received direction, by letters from my eldest sister, written by my father's command, to put off what cattle he had left about his house, and to discharge his servants; which I had done at the time called Michaelmas before. So that all the winter, when I was at home, I lived like a hermit all alone, having a pretty large house and nobody in it but myself, at nights especially; but an elderly woman, whose father had been an old servant to the family, came every morning and made my bed, and did what else I had occasion for her to do, till I fell ill of the small-pox, and then I had her with me, and the nurse. But now, understanding by letter from my sister, that my father did not intend to return to settle there, I made off those provisions which were in the house, that they might not be spoiled when I was gone; and because they were what I should have spent if I had tarried there, I took the money made of them to myself, for my support at London, if the project succeeded for my going thither.

This done, I committed the care of the house to a tenant of my father's who lived in the town, and taking my leave of Crowell, went up to my sure friend Isaac Penington again; where, understanding that the mediation used for my admittance to John Milton had succeeded so well that I might come when I would, I hastened to London, and in the first place went to wait upon him. He received me courteously, as well for the sake of Dr Paget, who introduced me, as of Isaac Penington, who recommended me; to both of whom he bore a good respect. And having enquired divers things of me, with respect to my for-

mer progression in learning, he dismissed me, to provide myself such accommodations as might be most suitable to my future studies. I went therefore and took myself a lodging as near to his house, which was then in Jewin street, as conveniently I could; and from thenceforward went every day in the afternoon, except on the first days of the week; and sitting by him in his dining-room, read to him in such books in the Latin tongue as he pleased to hear me read.

At my first sitting to read to him, observing that I used the English pronunciation, he told me if I would have the benefit of the Latin tongue, not only to read and understand Latin authors, but to converse with foreigners, either abroad or at home, I must learn the foreign pronunciation. To this I consenting, he instructed me how to sound the vowels; so different from the common pronunciation used by the English, who speak *Anglice* their Latin, that (with some few other variations in sounding some consonants in particular cases, as *c* before *e* or *i*, like *ch*; *sc* before *i*, like *sh*, &c.) the Latin thus spoken, seemed as different from that which was delivered as the English generally speak it, as if it were another language.

I had before, during my retired life at my father's, by unwearied diligence and industry, so far recovered the rules of grammar, in which I had once been very ready, that I could both read a Latin author, and after a sort, hammer out his meaning. But this change of pronunciation proved a new difficulty to me. It was now harder to me to read, than it was before to understand when read. But

—————Labor omnia vincit  
Improbus.

Incessant pains  
The end obtains.

And so did I. Which made my reading the more acceptable to my master. He, on the other hand, perceiving with what earnest desire I pursued learn-

ing, gave me not only all the encouragement, but all the help he could. For, having a curious ear, he understood by my tone when I understood what I read and when I did not; and accordingly would stop me, examine me, and open the most difficult passages to me.

Thus went I on for about six weeks time, reading to him in the afternoons; and, exercising myself with my own books in my chamber in the forenoons, I was sensible of an improvement. But, alas! I had fixed my studies in a wrong place. London and I could never agree for health; my lungs, I suppose, were too tender to bear the sulphurous air of that city, so that I soon began to droop; and in less than two months time I was fain to leave both my studies and the city, and return into the country to preserve life; and much ado I had to get thither.

I chose to go down to Wycombe, and to John Rance's house there; both as he was a physician, and his wife an honest, hearty, discreet, and grave matron, whom I had a very good esteem of, and who I knew had a good regard for me. There I lay ill a considerable time, and to that degree of weakness, that scarcely any who saw me expected my life. But the Lord was both gracious to me in my illness, and was pleased to raise me up again, that I might serve him in my generation.

As soon as I had recovered so much strength as to be fit to travel, I obtained of my father (who was then at his house in Crowell, to dispose of some things he had there, and who in my illness had come to see me,) so much money as would clear all charges in the house, for both physic, food, and attendance; and having fully discharged all, I took leave of my friends in that family, and in the town, and returned to my studies at London. I was very kindly received by my master, who had conceived so good an opinion of me, that my conversation I found was acceptable to him, and he seemed heartily glad of my recovery and re-

turn; and into our old method of study we fell again, I reading to him, and he explaining to me as occasion required.

But, as if learning had been a forbidden fruit to me, scarce was I well settled in my work, before I met with another diversion, which turned me quite out of my work. For a sudden storm arising, from I know not what surmise of a plot, and thereby danger to the government; and the meetings of dissenters (such I mean as could be found, which perhaps were not many besides the Quakers) were broken up throughout the city, and the prisons mostly filled with our friends.

I was that morning, which was the 26th day of the eighth month, 1662, at the meeting at the Bull and Mouth, by Aldersgate, when on a sudden, a party of soldiers of the trained bands of the city rushed in, with noise and clamour, being led by one who was called major Rosewell, an apothecary, if I misremember not, and at that time under the ill name of a Papist. As soon as he was come within the room, having a file or two of musketeers at his heels, he commanded his men to present their muskets at us, which they did; with intent, I suppose, to strike a terror into the people. Then he made a proclamation, that all who were not Quakers might depart if they would.

It so happened, that a young man, an apprentice in London, whose name was — Dove, the son of Dr Dove, of Chinner, near Crowell, in Oxfordshire, came that day, in curiosity, to see the meeting, and coming early, and finding me there, whom he knew, came and sat down by me. As soon as he heard the noise of soldiers he was much startled, and asked me softly if I would not shift for myself, and try to get out. I told him, no; I was in my place, and was willing to suffer if it was my lot. When he found the notice given that they who were not Quakers might depart, he solicited me again to be gone. I told him I could



not do so, for that would be to renounce my profession, which I would by no means do. But as for him, who was not one of us, he might do as he pleased. Whereupon, wishing me well, he turned away, and with cap in hand went out. And truly I was glad he was gone, for his master was a rigid Presbyterian, who, in all likelihood, would have led him a wretched life had he been taken and imprisoned among the Quakers.

The soldiers came so early, that the meeting was not fully gathered when they came; and, when the mixed company were gone out, we were so few, and sat so thin in that large room, that they might take a clear view of us all, and single us out as they pleased. He that commanded the party gave us first a general charge to come out of the room. But we, who came thither at God's requirings, to worship him, like that good man of old, who said, "We ought to obey God rather than men," (Acts, v. 29.) stirred not, but kept our places. Whereupon he sent some of his soldiers among us, with command to drag or drive us out, which they did roughly enough.

When we came out into the street, we were received there by other soldiers, who, with their pikes holden lengthways from one another, encompassed us round as sheep in a pound; and there we stood a pretty time, while they were picking up more to add to our number. In this work none seemed so eager and active as their leader, major Resewell. Which I observing, stepped boldly to him, as he was passing by me, and asked him if he intended a massacre: for of that, in those times, there was a great apprehension and talk. The suddenness of the question, from such a young man especially, somewhat startled him; but recollecting himself, he answered, "No; but I intend to have you all hanged by the wholesome laws of the land."

When he had gotten as many as he could, or thought fit, which were in number thirty-two,

whereof two were caught up in the street, who had not been at the meeting, he ordered the pikes to be opened before us; and giving the word to march, went himself at the head of us, the soldiers with their pikes making a lane to keep us from scattering.

He led us up Martin's, and so turned down to Newgate, where I expected he would lodge us. But, to my disappointment, he went on through Newgate, and turning through the Old Bailey, brought us into Fleet street. I was then wholly at a loss to conjecture whither he would lead us, unless it were to Whitehall; for I knew nothing then of Old Bridewell; but on a sudden he gave a short turn, and brought us before the gate of that prison, where knocking, the wicket was forthwith opened, and the master, with his porter, ready to receive us.

One of those two who were picked up in the street being near me, and telling me his case, I stepped to the major, and told him that this man was not at the meeting, but was taken up in the street; and showed him how hard and unjust a thing it would be to put him into prison. I had not pleased him before in the question I had put to him about a massacre; and that, I suppose, made this solicitation less acceptable to him from me, than it might have been from some other. For, looking sternly on me, he said, "Who are you, that take so much upon you? Seeing you are so busy, you shall be the first man that shall go into Bridewell;" and taking me by the shoulders, he thrust me in.

As soon as I was in, the porter, pointing with his finger, directed me to a fair pair of stairs on the farther side of a large court, and bid me go up those stairs, and go on till I could go no farther. Accordingly I went up the stairs; the first flight whereof brought me to a fair chapel on my left hand, which I could look into through the iron grates, but could not have gone into if I would. I knew that was not a place for me; wherefore, following my direction,

and the winding of the stairs, I went up a story higher, which brought me into a room, which I soon perceived to be a court-room, or place of judicature. After I had stood awhile there, and taken a view of it, observing a door on the farther side, I went to it, and opened it with intention to go in, but I quickly drew back, being almost affrighted at the dismalness of the place. For besides that the walls quite round were laid all over, from top to bottom, in black, there stood in the middle of it a great whipping-post, which was all the furniture it had.

In one of these two rooms judgment was given, and in the other it was executed, on those ill people who for their lewdness were sent to this prison, and there sentenced to be whipped. Which was so contrived, that the court might not only hear, but see, if they pleased, their sentence executed. A sight so unexpected, and withal so displeasing, gave me no encouragement either to rest, or indeed to enter at all there; till looking earnestly I espied, on the opposite side, a door, which giving me hopes of a farther progress, I adventured to step hastily to it, and opened it.

This let me into one of the fairest rooms that, so far as I remember, I was ever in, and no wonder; for though it was now put to this mean use, it had, for many ages past, been the royal seat or palace of the kings of England, until cardinal Wolsey built Whitehall, and offered it as a peace-offering to king Henry the eighth, who, until that time, had kept his court in this house, and had this, as the people in the house reported, for his dining-room, by which name it then went. This room in length (for I lived long enough in it to have time to measure it) was threescore feet, and had breadth proportionable to it. In it, on the front side, were very large bay windows, in which stood a large table. It had other very large tables in it, with benches round; and at that time the floor was covered with rushes, against some solemn festival, which I heard it was bespoken for.

Here was my *nil ultra*, and here I found I might set up my pillar; for although there was a door out of it to a back pair of stairs which led to it, yet that was kept locked. So that finding I had now followed my keeper's direction to the utmost point, beyond which I could not go, I sat down and considered that rhetorical saying, that "The way to heaven lay by the gate of hell;" the black room, through which I passed into this, bearing some resemblance to the latter, as this, comparatively and by way of allusion, might in some sort be thought to bear to the former. But I was quickly put out of these thoughts by the flocking in of the other friends, my fellow-prisoners; amongst whom yet, when all were come together, there was but one whom I knew so much as by face, and with him I had no acquaintance. For I having been but a little while in the city, and in that time kept close to my studies, I was by that means known to very few.

Soon after we were all gotten together, came up the master of the house after us, and demanded our names; which we might reasonably have refused to give till we had been legally convened before some civil magistrate, who had power to examine us and demand our names; but we, who were neither guileful nor wilful, simply gave him our names, which he took down in writing.

It was, as I hinted before, a general storm which fell that day, but it lighted most, and most heavy, upon our meetings; so that most of our men friends were made prisoners, and the prisons generally filled. And great work had the women to run about from prison to prison, to find their husbands, their fathers, their brothers, or their servants; for accordingly as they had disposed themselves to several meetings, so were they dispersed to several prisons. And no less care and pains had they, when they had found them, to furnish them with provisions, and other necessary accommodations.

But an excellent order, even in those early days, was practised among the friends of that city, by which there were certain friends of either sex appointed to have the oversight of the prisons in every quarter, and to take care of all friends, the poor especially, that should be committed thither. This prison of Bridewell was under the care of two honest, grave, discreet, and motherly women, whose names were Anne Merrick (afterwards Vivers), and Anne Travers, both widows. They, as soon as they understood that there were friends brought into that prison, provided some hot victuals, meat and broth, for the weather was cold: and ordering their servants to bring it them, with bread, cheese, and beer, came themselves also with it, and having placed it on a table, gave notice to us, that it was provided for all those that had not others to provide for them, or were not able to provide for themselves. And there wanted not among us a competent number of such guests.

As for my part, though I had lived as frugally as possibly I could, that I might draw out the thread of my little stock to the utmost length, yet had I, by this time, reduced it to tenpence, which was all the money I had about me, or anywhere else at my command. This was but a small estate to enter upon an imprisonment with, yet was I not at all discouraged at it, nor had I a murmuring thought. I had known what it was moderately to abound, and if I should now come to suffer want, I knew I ought to be content; and through the grace of God I was so. I had lived by providence before, when for a long time I had no money at all; and I had always found the Lord a good provider. I made no doubt, therefore, that he who set the ravens to feed Elijah, and who clothes the lilies, would find some means to sustain me with needful food and raiment; and I had learned by experience the truth of that saying, *Natura paucis contenta*, i. e. Nature is content with few things, or little.

Although the sight and smell of hot food was sufficiently enticing to my empty stomach, for I had eaten little that morning, and was hungry, yet considering the terms of the invitation, I questioned whether I was included in it; and after some reasonings, at length concluded that, while I had tenpence in my pocket, I should be an injurious intruder to that mess, which was provided for such as perhaps had not two-pence in theirs. Being come to this resolution, I withdrew as far from the table as I could, and sat down in a quiet retirement of mind till the repast was over, which was not long, for there were hands enough at it to make light work of it. When evening came, the porter came up the back stairs, and opening the door, told us if we desired to have anything that was to be had in the house, he would bring it us; for there was in the house a chandler's shop, at which beer, bread, butter, cheese, eggs, and bacon, might be had for money. Upon which many went to him and spake for what of these things they had a mind to, giving him money to pay for them. Among the rest went I, and intending to spin out my tenpence as far as I could, desired him to bring me a penny loaf only. When he returned, we all resorted to him to receive our several provisions, which he delivered; and when he came to me, he told me he could not get a penny loaf, but he had brought me two halfpenny loaves. This suited me better; wherefore, returning to my place again, I sat down and eat up one of my loaves, reserving the other for the next day. This was to me both dinner and supper; and so well satisfied I was with it, that I could willingly then have gone to bed, if I had had one to go to; but that was not to be expected there, nor had any one any bedding brought in that night. Some of the company had been so considerate as to send for a pound of candles, that we might not sit all night in the dark; and having lighted divers of them, and placed them in several parts of that large room, we kept walking to keep us warm.

After I had warmed myself pretty thoroughly, and the evening was pretty far spent, I bethought myself of a lodging; and cast my eye on the table which stood in the bay window, the frame whereof looked, I thought, somewhat like a bedstead. Wherefore willing to make sure of that, I gathered up a good armful of the rushes, wherewith the floor was covered, and spreading them under that table, crept in upon them in my clothes, and keeping on my hat, laid my head upon one end of the table's frame, instead of a bolster. My example was followed by the rest, who, gathering up rushes as I had done, made themselves beds in other parts of the room, and so to rest we went. I having a quiet easy mind, was soon asleep, and slept till about the middle of the night; and then waking, finding my legs and feet very cold, I crept out of my cabin, and began to walk about apace. This waked and raised all the rest, who finding themselves cold as well as I, got up and walked about with me, till we had pretty well warmed ourselves, and then we all lay down again, and rested till morning.

Next day all they who had families, or belonged to families, had bedding brought in of one sort or other, which they disposed at the ends and sides of the room, leaving the middle void to walk in. But I, who had nobody to look after me, kept to my rushy pallet under the table for four nights together, in which time I did not put off my clothes; yet, through the merciful goodness of God unto me, I rested and slept well, and enjoyed health, without taking cold. In this time divers of our company, through the solicitations of some of their relations or acquaintance to sir Richard Brown, (who was at that time a great master of mis-rule in the city, and over Bridewell more especially,) were released; and among these one William Mucklow, who lay in a hammock. He, having observed that I only was unprovided of lodging, came very courteously to me, and kindly offered me the use of his hammock while I should continue a prisoner.

This was a providential accommodation to me, which I received thankfully, both from the Lord and from him ; and from thenceforth I thought I lay as well as ever I had done in my life.

Amongst those that remained, there were several young men who cast themselves into a club, and laying down every one an equal proportion of money, put it into the hand of our friend Anne Travers, desiring her to lay it out for them in provisions, and send them in every day a mess of hot meat ; and they kindly invited me to come into their club with them. These saw my person, and judged of me by that, but they saw not my purse, nor understood the lightness of my pocket. But I, who alone understood my own condition, knew I must sit down with lower commons. Wherefore, not giving them the true reason, I, as fairly as I could, excused myself from entering at present into their mess, and went on, as before, to eat by myself, and that very sparingly, as my stock would bear. And before my tenpence was quite spent, Providence, on whom I relied, sent me a fresh supply.

For William Penington, a brother of Isaac Penington's, a friend and merchant in London, at whose house, before I came to live in the city, I was wont to lodge, having been at his brother's that day upon a visit, escaped this storm, and so was at liberty ; and understanding when he came back what had been done, bethought himself of me, and upon inquiry hearing where I was, came in love to see me. He, in discourse amongst other things, asked me how it was with me as to money, and how well I was furnished ; I told him I could not boast of much, and yet I could not say I had none ; though what I then had was indeed next to none. Whereupon he put twenty shillings into my hand, and desired me to accept of that for the present. I saw a divine hand in thus opening his heart and hand in this manner to me. And though I would willingly have been excused from taking so much, and would have returned one half of it, yet he



pressing it all upon me, I received it with a thankful acknowledgment, as a token of love from the Lord and from him.

On the seventh day he went down again, as he usually did, to his brother's house at Chalfont; and in discourse gave them an account of my imprisonment. Whereupon, at his return on the second day of the week following, my affectionate friend Mary Penington sent me by him forty shillings, which he soon after brought me; out of which I would have repaid him the twenty shillings he had so kindly furnished me with; but he would not admit it, telling me I might have occasion for that and more before I got my liberty. Not many days after this I received twenty shillings from my father, who being then at his house in Oxfordshire, and by letter from my sister understanding that I was a prisoner in Bridewell, sent this money to me for my support there; and withal a letter to my sister, for her to deliver to one called Mr Wray, who lived near Bridewell, and was a servant to sir Richard Brown, in some wharf of his; requesting him to intercede with his master, who was one of the governors of Bridewell, for my deliverance. But that letter coming to my hands, I suppressed it, and have it yet by me.

Now was my pocket, from the lowest ebb, risen to a full tide, I was at the brink of want, next door to nothing, yet my confidence did not fail, nor my faith stagger; and now on a sudden I had plentiful supplies, shower upon shower, so that I abounded, yet was not lifted up; but in humility could say, "This is the Lord's doing." And, without defrauding any of the instruments of the acknowledgments due unto them, mine eye looked over and beyond them to the Lord, who I saw was the author thereof, and prime agent therein, and with a thankful heart I returned thanksgivings and praises to him. And this great goodness of the Lord to me, I thus record, to the end that all into whose hands this may come, may be encouraged

to trust in the Lord, whose mercy is over all his works, and who is indeed a God near at hand to help in the needful time. Now I durst venture myself into the club, to which I had been invited, and accordingly (having by this time gained an acquaintance with them) took an opportunity to cast myself among them; and thenceforward, so long as we continued prisoners there together, I was one of their mess.

And now the chief thing I wanted was employment, which scarcely any wanted but myself; for the rest of my company were generally tradesmen, of such trades as could set themselves on work. Of these divers were tailors, some masters, some journeymen, and with these I most inclined to settle. But because I was too much a novice in their art to be trusted with their work lest I should spoil the garment, I got work from a hosier in Cheapside; which was to make night-waistcoats, of red and yellow flannel, for women and children. And with this I entered myself among the tailors, sitting cross-legged as they did, and so spent those leisure hours with innocency and pleasure, which want of business would have made tedious. And indeed that was, in a manner, the only advantage I had by it; for my master, though a very wealthy man, and one who professed not only friendship but particular kindness to me, dealt, I thought, but hardly with me. For though he knew not what I had to subsist by, he never offered me a penny for my work till I had done working for him, and went, after I was released, to give him a visit; and then he would not reckon with me neither, because, as he smilingly said, he would not let me so far into his trade, as to acquaint me with the prices of the work, but would be sure to give me enough. And thereupon he gave me one crown piece, and no more; though I had wrought long for him, and made him many dozens of waistcoats, and bought the thread myself; which I thought was very poor pay. But, as providence had ordered it, I wanted the work more than the wages, and

therefore took what he gave me without complaining.

About this time, while we were prisoners in our fair chamber, a friend was brought and put in among us, who had been sent thither by Richard Brown, to beat hemp; whose case was thus:—He was a very poor man, who lived by mending shoes; and on a seventh-day night late, a carman, or some other such labouring man, brought him a pair of shoes to mend, desiring him to mend them that night, that he might have them in the morning, for he had no others to wear. The poor man sat up at work upon them till after midnight, and then finding he could not finish them, he went to bed, intending to do the rest in the morning. Accordingly he got up betimes, and though he wrought as privately as he could in his chamber, that he might avoid giving offence to any, yet could he not do it so privately but that an ill-natured neighbour perceived it, who went and informed against him for working on the Sunday. Whereupon he was had before Richard Brown, who committed him to Bridewell for a certain time, to be kept to hard labour in beating hemp, which is labour hard enough.

It so fell out, that at the same time were committed thither (for what cause I do not now remember) two lusty young men, who were called Baptists, to be kept also at the same labour. The friend was a poor little man, of a low condition and mean appearance; whereas these two Baptists were topping blades, that looked high, and spake big. They scorned to beat hemp, and made a pish at the whipping-post; but when they had once felt the smart of it, they soon cried *peccavi*, and submitting to the punishment, set their tender hands to the beetles. The friend, on the other hand, acting upon a principle, as knowing he had done no evil for which he should undergo that punishment, refused to work, and for refusing was cruelly whipped; which he bore with wonderful constancy and resolution of mind.

The manner of whipping there, is to strip the party to the skin from the waist upwards, and having fastened him to the whipping-post, so that he can neither resist nor shun the strokes, to lash the body with long, but slender twigs of holly, which will bend almost like thongs, and lap round the body; and these having little knots upon them, tear the skin and flesh, and give extreme pain. With these rods they tormented the friend most barbarously; and the more, for that having mastered the two braving Baptists, they disdained to be mastered by this poor Quaker. Yet were they fain at last to yield, when they saw their utmost severity could not make him yield. And then, not willing to be troubled longer with him, they turned him up among us.

When we had inquired of him how it was with him, and he had given us a brief account of both his cause and usage, it came in my mind that I had in my box (which I had sent for from my lodging, to keep some few books and other necessaries in) a little gallipot with Lucatellu's balsam in it. Wherefore, causing a good fire to be made, and setting the friend within a blanket before the fire, we stripped him to the waist, as if he had been to be whipped again; and found his skin so cut and torn with the knotty holly rods, both back, side, arm, and breast, that it was a dismal sight to look upon. Then melting some of the balsam, I, with a feather, anointed all the sores, and putting on a softer cloth between his skin and his shirt, helped him on with his clothes again. This dressing gave him much ease, and I continued it till he was well. And because he was a very poor man, we took him into our mess, contriving that there should always be enough for him as well as for ourselves. Thus he lived with us until the time he was committed for was expired, and then he was released.

But we were still continued prisoners by an arbitrary power, not being committed by the civil autho-

rity, nor having seen the face of any civil magistrate, from the day we were thrust in here by soldiers, which was the 26th day of the eighth month, to the 19th of the tenth month following. On that day we were had to the sessions at the Old Bailey. But not being called there, we were brought back to Bridewell, and continued there to the 29th of the same month, and then we were carried to the sessions again.

I expected I should have been called the first because my name was first taken down ; but it proved otherwise, so that I was one of the last that was called ; which gave me the advantage of hearing the pleas of the other prisoners, and discovering the temper of the court. The prisoners complained of the illegality of their imprisonment, and desired to know what they had lain so long in prison for. The court regarded nothing of that, and did not stick to tell them so. " For," said the recorder to them, " if you think you have been wrongfully imprisoned, you have your remedy at law, and may take it, if you think it worth your while. The court," said he, " may send for any man out of the street, and tender him the oath: so we take no notice how you came hither, but finding you here, we tender you the oath of allegiance ; which if you refuse to take, we shall commit you, and at length premunire you." Accordingly, as every one refused it, he was set aside, and another called.

By this I saw it was in vain for me to insist upon false imprisonment, or ask the cause of my commitment ; though I had before furnished myself with some authorities and maxims of law on that subject, to plead, if room should be given ; and I had the book out of which I took them in my bosom ; for the weather being cold, I wore a gown girt about the middle, and had put the book within it. But I now resolved to wave all that, and insist upon another plea, which just then came into my mind. As soon

therefore as I was called, I stepped nimbly to the bar, and stood up upon the stepping, that I might the better both hear and be heard, and laying my hands upon the bar, stood ready, expecting what they would say to me.

I suppose they took me for a confident young man, for they looked very earnestly upon me; and we faced each other, without words, for awhile. At length the recorder, who was called sir John Howel, asked me if I would take the oath of allegiance: to which I answered: "I conceive this court hath not power to tender that oath to me, in the condition wherein I stand." This so unexpected plea seemed to startle them, so that they looked one upon another, and said somewhat low one to another, "What! doth he demur to the jurisdiction of the court?" And thereupon the recorder asked me: "Do you then demur to the jurisdiction of the court?" "Not absolutely," answered I, "but conditionally, with respect to my present condition, and the circumstances I am now under."

"Why, what is your present condition?" said the recorder. "A prisoner," replied I. "And what is that," said he, "to you taking or not taking the oath?" "Enough," said I, "as I conceive, to exempt me from the tender thereof, while I am under this condition." "Pray, what is your reason for that?" said he. "This," said I, "that if I rightly understand the words of the statute, I am required to say, that I do take this oath freely and without constraint; which I cannot say, because I am not a free man, but in bonds, and under constraint. Wherefore I conceive, that if you would tender that oath to me, ye ought first to set me free from my present imprisonment."

"But," said the recorder, "will you take the oath if you be set free?" "Thou shalt see that," said I, "when I am set free. Therefore set me free first, and then ask the question." "But," said he again,

“you know your own mind, sure, and can tell now what you would do if you were at liberty.” “Yes,” replied I, “that I can; but I do not hold myself obliged to tell it until I am at liberty. Therefore set me at liberty, and ye shall soon hear it.”

Thus we fenced a good while, till I was both weary of such trifling, and doubted also lest some of the standers-by should suspect I would take it if I was set at liberty. Wherefore, when the recorder put it upon me again, I told him plainly, “No; though I thought they ought not to tender it me till I had been set at liberty, yet, if I was set at liberty I could not take the oath, because my lord and master, Christ Jesus, had expressly commanded his disciples not to swear at all.”

As his command was enough to me, so this confession of mine was enough to them. “Take him away,” said they; and away I was taken, and thrust into the bail-dock to my other friends, who had been called before me. And as soon as the rest of our company were called, and had refused to swear, we were all committed to Newgate, and thrust into the common side. When we came there, we found that side of the prison very full of friends, who were prisoners there before (as indeed were, at that time, all the other parts of that prison, and most of the other prisons about the town), and our addition caused a great throng on that side. Notwithstanding which, we were kindly welcomed by our friends whom we found there, and entertained by them, as well as their condition would admit, until we could get in our own accommodations, and provide for ourselves.

We had the liberty of the hall, (which is on the first story over the gate, and which, in the day-time is common to all the prisoners on that side, felons as well as others, to walk in, and to beg out of,) and we had also the liberty of some other rooms over that hall, to walk or work in a-days. But in the night we

all lodged in one room, which was large and round, having in the middle of it a great pillar of oaken timber, which bore up the chapel that is over it. To this pillar we fastened our hammocks at the one end, and to the opposite wall on the other end, quite round the room, and in three degrees, or three stories high, one over the other; so that they who lay in the upper and middle row of hammocks were obliged to go to bed first, because they were to climb up to the higher, by getting into the lower. And under the lower rank of hammocks, by the wall sides, were laid beds upon the floor, in which the sick, and such weak persons as could not get into the hammocks, lay. And indeed, though the room was large and pretty airy, yet the breath and steam that came from so many bodies, of different ages, conditions, and constitutions, packed up so close together, was enough to cause sickness amongst us, and I believe did so: for there were many sick, and some very weak; and though we were not long there, yet in that time one of our fellow prisoners, who lay in one of those pallet-beds, died.

This caused some bustle in the house. For the body of the deceased being laid out, and put into a coffin, was carried down and set in the room called the Lodge, that the coroner might inquire into the cause and manner of his death. And the manner of their doing it is thus. As soon as the coroner is come, the turnkeys run out into the street under the gate, and seize upon every man that passes by, till they have got enough to make up the coroner's inquest. And so resolute these rude fellows are, that if any man resist or dispute it with them they drag him in by main force, not regarding what condition he is of. Nay, I have been told, they will not stick to stop a coach, and pluck the men out of it.

It so happened, that at this time they lighted on an ancient man, a grave citizen, who was trudging through the gate in great haste, and him they laid hold on, telling him he must come in, and serve upon



the coroner's inquest. He pleaded hard, begged and besought them to let him go, assuring them he was going on very urgent business, and that the stopping of him would be greatly to his prejudice. But they were deaf to all entreaties, and hurried him in, the poor man chafing without remedy. When they had got their complement, and were shut in together, the rest of them said to this ancient man, "Come, father, you are the oldest among us, you shall be our foreman." And when the coroner had sworn them on the jury, the coffin was uncovered, that they might look upon the body. But the old man, disturbed in his mind at the interruption they had given him, was grown somewhat fretful upon it, and said to them: "To what purpose do you show us a dead body here? You would not have us think, sure, that this man died in this room! How then shall we be able to judge how this man came by his death, unless we see the place wherein he died, and wherein he hath been kept prisoner before he died? How know we but that the incommodiousness of the place wherein he was kept may have occasioned his death? Therefore show us the place wherein this man died."

This much displeased the keepers, and they began to banter the old man, thinking to beat him off it. But he stood up tightly to them; "Come, come," said he, "though you have made a fool of me in bringing me in hither, ye shall not find a child of me now I am here. Mistake not yourselves; I understand my place, and your duty; and I require you to conduct me and my brethren to the place where this man died: refuse it at your peril." They now wished they had let the old man go about his business, rather than, by troubling him, have brought this trouble on themselves. But when they saw he persisted in his resolution, and was peremptory, the coroner told them they must go show him the place.

It was in the evening when they began this work; and by this time it was grown bed time with us, so

that we had taken down our hammocks, which in the day were hung up by the walls, and had made them ready to go into, and were undressing ourselves in readiness to go into them; when on a sudden we heard a great noise of tongues, and of trappings of feet, coming towards us. And by and bye one of the turnkeys opening our door, said: "Hold, hold, do not undress yourselves, here is the coroner's inquest coming to see you." As soon as they were come to the door (for within the door there was scarcely room for them to come) the foreman who led them, lifting up his hand, said: "Lord bless me, what a sight is here! I did not think there had been so much cruelty in the hearts of Englishmen, to use Englishmen in this manner! We need not now question," said he to the rest of the jury, "how this man came by his death; we may rather wonder that they are not all dead; for this place is enough to breed an infection among them. Well," added he, "if it please God to lengthen my life till to-morrow, I will find means to let the king know how his subjects are dealt with."

Whether he did so or not, I cannot tell; but I am apt to think he applied himself to the mayor or the sheriffs of London. For the next day, one of the sheriffs, called sir William Turner, a woollen-draper in Paul's yard, came to the pressyard, and having ordered the porter of Bridewell to attend him there, sent up a turnkey amongst us to bid all the Bridewell prisoners come down to him, for they knew us not, but we knew our own company. Being come before him in the press-yard, he looked kindly on us, and spake courteously to us. "Gentlemen," said he, "I understand the prison is very full, and I am sorry for it. I wish it were in my power to release you and the rest of your friends that are in it. But since I cannot do that, I am willing to do what I can for you. And therefore I am come hither to inquire how it is; and I would have all you who came from Bridewell return thither again, which will be a better accommo-

dition to you; and your removal will give the more room to those that are left behind; and here is the porter of Bridewell, your old keeper, to attend you thither."

We duly acknowledged the favour of the sheriff to us and our friends above, in this removal of us, which would give them more room, and us a better air. But before we parted from him, I spake particularly to him on another occasion; which was this. When we came into Newgate we found a shabby fellow there among the friends, who, upon enquiry, we understood had thrust himself among our friends, when they were taken at a meeting, on purpose to be sent to prison with them, in hopes to be maintained by them. They knew nothing of him till they found him shut in with them in the prison, and then took no notice of him, as not knowing how or why he came thither. But he soon gave them cause to take notice of him; for wherever he saw any victuals brought forth for them to eat, he would be sure to thrust in, with knife in hand, and make himself his own carver; and so impudent was he, that if he saw the provision was short, whoever wanted, he would be sure to take enough. Thus lived this lazy drone upon the labours of the industrious bees, to his high content, and their no small trouble, to whom his company was as offensive as his ravening was oppressive; nor could they get any relief by their complaining of him to the keepers.

This fellow, hearing the notice which was given for the Bridewell men to go down, in order to be removed to Bridewell again, and hoping, no doubt, that fresh quarters would produce fresh commons, and that he should fare better with us than where he was, thrust himself among us, and went down into the press-yard with us; which I knew not till I saw him standing there with his hat on, and looking as demurely as he could, that the sheriff might take him for a Quaker: at the sight of which my spirit was much

stirred; wherefore, so soon as the sheriff had done speaking to us, and we had made our acknowledgment of his kindness, I stepped a little nearer to him, and pointing to that fellow, said, "That man is not only none of our company, for he is no Quaker; but is an idle, dissolute fellow, who hath thrust himself in among our friends, to be sent to prison with them, that he might live upon them; therefore I desire we may not be troubled with him at Bridewell."

At this the sheriff smiled; and, calling the fellow forth, said to him, "How came you to be in prison?" "I was taken at a meeting," said he. "But what business had you there?" said the sheriff. "I went to hear," said he. "Aye, you went upon a worse design, it seems," replied the sheriff; "but I'll disappoint you, for I'll change your company, and send you to them that are like yourself." Then calling for the turnkey, he said, "Take this fellow, and put him among the felons; and be sure let him not trouble the Quakers any more." Hitherto this fellow had stood with his hat on, as willing to have passed, if he could, for a Quaker; but as soon as he heard this doom passed on him, off went his hat, and to bowing and scraping he fell, with "Good your worship, have pity upon me, and set me at liberty." "No, no," said the sheriff, "I will not so far disappoint you; since you had a mind to be in prison, in prison you shall be for me." Then bidding the turnkey take him away, he had him up, and put him among the felons; and so friends had a good deliverance from him.

The sheriff then bidding us farewell, the porter of Bridewell came to us, and told us we knew our way to Bridewell without him, and he could trust us; therefore he would not stay nor go with us, but left us to take our own time, so we were in before bedtime. Then went we up again to our friends in Newgate, and gave them an account of what had passed; and having taken a solemn leave of them,

we made up our packs to be gone. But before I pass from Newgate, I think it not amiss to give the reader some little account of what I observed while I was there.

The common side of Newgate is generally accounted, as it really is, the worst part of that prison; not so much from the place, as the people; it being usually stocked with the veriest rogues, and meanest sort of felons and pick-pockets, who not being able to pay chamber-rent on the master's side, are thrust in there. And if they come in bad, to be sure they do not go out better; for here they have an opportunity to instruct one another in their art, and impart to each other what improvements they have made therein.

The common hall, which is the first room over the gate, is a good place to walk in when the prisoners are out of it, saving the danger of catching some cattle which they may have left in it: and there I used to walk in a morning before they were let up, and sometimes in the day-time when they have been there.

They all carried themselves respectfully towards me, which I imputed chiefly to this, that when any of our women friends came there to visit the prisoners, if they had not relations of their own there to take care of them, I (as being a young man, and more at leisure than most others, for I could not play the tailor there) was forward to go down with them to the grate, and see them safe out. And sometimes they have left money in my hands for the felons (who at such times were very importunate beggars), which I forthwith distributed among them in bread, which was to be had in the place. But so troublesome an office it was, that I thought one had as good have had a pack of hungry hounds about one, as these, when they knew there was a dole to be given. Yet this, I think, made them a little the more observant to me; for they would dispose themselves to one side of

the room, that they might make way for me to walk on the other.

For having, as I hinted before, made up our packs, and taken our leave of our friends whom we were to leave behind, we took our bundles on our shoulders, and walked, two and two abreast, through the Old Bailey into Fleet street, and so to Old Bridewell. And it being about the middle of the afternoon, and the streets pretty full of people, both the shop-keepers at their doors, and passengers in the way, would stop us, and ask us what we were, and whither we were going. And when we had told them we were prisoners going from one prison to another, from Newgate to Bridewell, "What!" said they, "without a keeper?" "No," said we, "for our word, which we have given, is our keeper." Some thereupon would advise us not to go to prison, but to go home. But we told them we could not do so; we could suffer for our testimony, but could not fly from it. I do not remember we had any abuse offered us, but were generally pitied by the people.

When we were come to Bridewell, we were not put up into the great room in which we had been before, but into a low room in another fair court, which had a pump in the middle of it. And here we were not shut up as before, but had the liberty of the court to walk in, and of the pump to wash or drink at. And indeed we might easily have gone quite away if we would, there being a passage through the court into the street; but we were true and steady prisoners, and looked upon this liberty arising from their confidence in us, to be a kind of parole upon us; so that both conscience and honour stood now engaged for our true imprisonment.

Adjoining to this room wherein we were, was such another, both newly fitted up for workhouses, and accordingly furnished with very great blocks for beating hemp upon, and a lusty whipping-post there

was in each. And it was said that Richard Brown had ordered those blocks to be provided for the Quakers to work on, resolving to try his strength with us in that case: but if that was his purpose, it was over-ruled, for we never had any work offered us, nor were we treated after the manner of those that are to be so used. Yet we set ourselves to work on them; for, being very large, they served the tailors for shop-boards, and others wrought upon them as they had occasion; and they served us very well for tables to eat on.

We had also, besides this room, the use of our former chamber above, to go into when we thought fit; and thither sometimes I withdrew when I found a desire for retirement and privacy, or had something on my mind to write, which could not so well be done in company. And indeed, about this time, my spirit was more than ordinarily exercised, though on very different subjects. For, on the one hand, the sense of the exceeding love and goodness of the Lord to me, in his gracious and tender dealings with me, did deeply affect my heart, and caused me to break forth in a song of thanksgiving and praise to him; and on the other hand, a sense of the profaneness, debaucheries, cruelties, and other horrid impieties of the age, fell heavy on me, and lay as a pressing weight upon my spirit; and I breathed forth the following hymn to God, in acknowledgment of his great goodness to me, profession of my grateful love to him, and supplication to him for the continuance of his kindness to me in preserving me from the snares of the enemy, and keeping me faithful unto himself.

THEE, thee alone, O God! I fear,  
In thee do I confide;  
Thy presence is to me more dear  
Than all things else beside.

Thy virtue, power, life, and light,  
Which in my heart do shine,  
Above all things are my delight:  
O make them always mine!

Thy matchless love constrains my life,  
 Thy life constrains my love,  
 To be to thee as chaste a wife  
 As is the turtle dove

To her elect, espoused mate,  
 Whom she will not forsake,  
 Nor can be brought to violate  
 The bond she once did make.

Just so my soul doth cleave to thee,  
 As to her only head,  
 With whom she longs conjoin'd to be  
 In bond of marriage-bed.

But, ah, alas! her little fort  
 Is compassed about,  
 Her foes about her thick resort,  
 Within, and eke without.

How numerous are they now grown!  
 How wicked their intent;  
 O let thy mighty power be shown,  
 Their mischief to prevent!

They make assaults on every side,  
 But thou stand'st in the gap;  
 Their battering rams make breaches wide,  
 But still thou mak'st them up.

Sometimes they use alluring wiles,  
 To draw into their power;  
 And sometimes weep like crocodiles,  
 But all is to devour.

Thus they beset my feeble heart  
 With fraud, deceit, and guile,  
 Alluring her from thee to start,  
 And thy pure rest defile.

But, oh! the breathing and the moan,  
 The sighings of the seed,  
 The groanings of the grieved one,  
 Do sorrows in me breed.

And that immortal, holy birth,  
 The offspring of thy breath,  
 To whom thy love brings life and mirth,  
 As doth thy absence, death.



That babe, that seed, that panting child,  
Which cannot thee forsake,  
In fear to be again beguiled,  
Doth supplication make ;

O! suffer not thy chosen one,  
Who puts her trust in thee,  
And hath made thee her choice alone,  
Ensnared again to be.

*Bridewell, London, 1662.*

In this sort did I spend some leisure hours during my confinement in Bridewell, especially after our return from Newgate thither; when we had more liberty, and more opportunity, and room for retirement and thought; for, as the poet said,

*Carmina scribentes secessum et otia querunt.*

———— They who would write in measure,  
Retire where they may stillness have and leisure.

And this privilege we enjoyed by the indulgence of our keeper, whose heart God disposed to favour us; so that both the master and his porter were very civil and kind to us, and had been so indeed all along. For when we were shut up before, the porter would readily let some of us go home in an evening, and stay at home till next morning; which was a great conveniency to men of trade and business; which I being free from, forbore asking for myself, that I might not hinder others. This he observed, and asked me when I meant to ask to go out; I told him I had not much occasion nor desire; yet at some time or other perhaps I might have; but when I had I would ask him but once, and if he then denied me I would ask him no more.

After we were come back from Newgate, I had a desire to go thither again, to visit my friends who were prisoners there, more especially my dear friend, and father in Christ, Edward Burrough, who was then a prisoner, with many friends more, in that part of

Newgate which was then called Justice-hall. Whereupon the porter coming in my way, I asked him to let me go out for an hour or two, to see some friends of mine that evening. He, to enhance the kindness, made it a matter of some difficulty, and would have me stay till another night. I told him I would be at a word with him, for, as I had told him before that if he denied me I would ask him no more, so he should find I would keep to it. He was no sooner gone out of my sight, than I espied his master crossing the court; wherefore, stepping to him, I asked him if he was willing to let me go out for a little while, to see some friends of mine that evening. Yes, said he, very willingly; and thereupon away walked I to Newgate, where having spent the evening among friends, I returned in good time.

Under this easy restraint we lay until the court sat at the Old Bailey again; and then, whether it was that the heat of the storm was somewhat abated, or by what other means providence wrought it I know not, we were called to the bar, and, without farther question, discharged. Whereupon we returned to Bridewell again, and having raised some money among us, and therewith gratified both the master and his porter for their kindness to us, we spent some time in a solemn meeting, to return our thankful acknowledgment to the Lord, both for his preservation of us in prison, and deliverance of us out of it; and then taking a solemn farewell of each other, we departed with bag and baggage. And I took care to return my hammock to the owner, with due acknowledgment of his great kindness in lending it to me.

Being now at liberty, I visited more generally my friends that were still in prison, and more particularly my friend and benefactor William Penington, at his house, and then went to wait upon my master Milton; with whom yet I could not propose to enter upon my intermitted studies, until I had been in Buckinghamshire, to visit my worthy friends Isaac Penington and his virtuous wife, with other friends in that country.

Thither therefore I betook myself, and the weather being frosty, and the ways by that means clean and good, I walked it throughout in a day, and was received by my friends there with such demonstration of hearty kindness as made my journey very easy to me.

I had spent in my imprisonment that twenty shillings which I had received of William Penington, and twenty of the forty which had been sent me from Mary Penington, and had the remainder then about me. That therefore I now returned to her, with due acknowledgment of her husband's and her great care of me, and liberality to me in the time of my need. She would have had me keep it; but I begged of her to accept it from me again, since it was the redundancy of their kindness, and the other part had answered the occasion for which it was sent; and my importunity prevailed.

I intended only a visit thither, not a continuance; and therefore proposed, after I had staid a few days, to return to my lodging and former course in London; but providence ordered it otherwise. Isaac Penington had at that time two sons and one daughter, all then very young; of whom the eldest son John Penington, and the daughter, Mary, the wife of Daniel Wharley, are yet living at the writing of this. And being himself both skilful and curious in pronunciation, he was very desirous to have them well grounded in the rudiments of the English tongue; to which end he had sent for a man out of Lancashire, whom, upon inquiry, he had heard of, who was undoubtedly the most accurate English teacher that ever I met with, or have heard of. His name was Richard Bradley. But as he pretended no higher than the English tongue, and had led them by grammar rules to the highest improvement they were capable of in that, he had taken his leave of them, and was gone up to London, to teach an English school of friends' children there.

This put my friend to a fresh strait. He had sought for a new teacher to instruct his children in the Latin

tongue, as the old had done in the English, but had not yet found one. Wherefore, one evening as we sat together by the fire in his bedchamber, which, for want of health he kept, he asked me, his wife being by, if I would be so kind to him as to stay awhile with him till he could hear of such a man as he aimed at, and in the meantime enter his children in the rudiments of the Latin tongue.

This question was not more unexpected than surprising to me; and the more, because it seemed directly to thwart my former purpose and undertaking of endeavouring to improve myself, by following my studies with my master Milton, which this would give at least a present diversion from, and for how long I could not foresee. But the sense I had of the manifold obligations I lay under to these worthy friends of mine, shut out all reasonings, and disposed my mind to an absolute resignation to their desire, that I might testify my gratitude by a willingness to do them any friendly service that I could be capable of.

And though I questioned my ability to carry on that work to its due height and proportion, yet, as that was not proposed, but an initiation only, by accident, into grammar, I consented to the proposal, as a present expedient till a more qualified person should be found, without further treaty, or mention of terms between us, than that of mutual friendship. And to render this digression from my studies the less uneasy to my mind, I recollected and often thought of that rule in Lilly,

*Qui docet indoctos, licet indoctissimus esset,  
Ipse brevi reliquis doctior esse queat.*

He that th' unlearn'd doth teach, may quickly be  
More learn'd than they, though most unlearned he.

With this consideration I undertook this province, and left it not until I married, which was not till the year 1669, near seven years from the time I came thither. In which time, having the use of my friend's books, as well as of my own, I spent my leisure hours

much in reading, not without some improvement to myself in my private studies; which, with the good success of my labours bestowed on the children, and the agreeableness of conversation which I found in the family, rendered my undertaking more satisfactory, and my stay there more easy to me.

But, alas! not many days, not to say weeks, had I been there, ere we were almost overwhelmed with sorrow for the unexpected loss of Edward Burrough, who was justly very dear to us all. This not only good, but great good man, by a long and close confinement in Newgate, through the cruel malice and malicious cruelty of Richard Brown, was taken away by hasty death, to the unutterable grief of very many, and unspeakable loss to the church of Christ in general.

The particular obligation I had to him as the immediate instrument of my convincement, and high affection for him resulting therefrom, did so deeply affect my mind, that it was some pretty time before my passion could prevail to express itself in words; so true I found that of the tragedian:—

Curæ leves loquuntur,  
Ingentes stupent.

Light griefs break forth, and easily get vent,  
Great ones are through amazement closely pent.

At length my muse, not bearing to be any longer mute, brake forth in the following acrostic, which she called,

A PATHETIC ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF THAT DEAR AND FAITHFUL SERVANT OF GOD EDWARD BURROUGH, WHO DIED THE 14TH OF 12TH MONTH, 1662.

And thus she introduceth it:—

How long shall grief lie smother'd! ah, how long  
Shall sorrow's signet seal my silent tongue?  
How long shall sighs me suffocate! and make  
My lips to quiver, and my heart to ache?

How long shall I with pain suppress my cries,  
 And seek for holes to wipe my watery eyes?  
 Why may not I, by sorrow thus opprest,  
 Pour forth my grief into another's breast?  
 If that be true which once was said by one,  
 That "he mourns truly, who doth mourn alone."\*  
 Then may I truly say, my grief is true,  
 Since it hath yet been known to very few.  
 Nor is it now mine aim to make it known  
 To those to whom these verses may be shown;  
 But to assuage my sorrow-swollen heart,  
 Which silence caused to taste so deep of smart.  
 This is my end, that so I may prevent  
 The vessel's bursting by a timely vent.

————— Quis talia fando  
 Temperet a lachrymis!

Who can forbear, when such things spoke he hears,  
 His grave to water with a flood of tears?

—————  
 E cho, ye woods; resound, ye hollow places,  
 L et tears and paleness cover all men's faces.  
 L et groans, like claps of thunder, pierce the air,  
 W hile I the cause of my just grief declare.  
 O that mine eyes could, like the streams of Nile,  
 O 'er flow their watery banks; and thou, meanwhile,  
 D rink in my trickling tears, O thirsty ground!  
 S o mightst thou henceforth fruitfuller be found.

L ament, my soul, lament, thy loss is deep,  
 A nd all that Sion love, sit down and weep;  
 M ourn, O ye virgins! and let sorrow be  
 E ach damsel's dowry, and, alas! for me,  
 N e'er let my sobs and sighings have an end,  
 T ill I again embrace m' ascended friend;  
 A nd till I feel the virtue of his life  
 T o console me, and repress my grief:  
 I nfuse into my heart the oil of gladness  
 O nce more, and by its strength, remove that sadness  
 N ow pressing down my spirit, and restore

\* Ille dolet vere, qui sine teste dolet.

Fully that joy I had in him before.  
 Of whom a word I fain would stammer forth,  
 Rather to ease my heart, than show his worth :  
 His worth, my grief, which words too shallow are  
 In demonstration fully to declare,  
 Sighs, sobs, my best interpreters now are.  
 Envy, begone ! Black Momus, quit the place !  
 Ne'er more, Zoilus, show thy wrinkled face !  
 Draw near, ye bleeding hearts, whose sorrows are  
 Equal with mine ; in him ye had like share.  
 Add all your losses up, and ye shall see  
 Remainder will be nought but woe is me.  
 Prepared lambs, ye that have the white stone,  
 Do know full well his name, it is your own.  
 Eternitiz'd be that right worthy name,  
 Death hath but kill'd his body, not his fame,  
 Which in its brightness shall for ever dwell,  
 And, like a box of ointment, sweetly smell.  
 Righteousness was his robe ; bright majesty  
 Decked his brow ; his look was heavenly.  
 Bold was he in his Master's quarrel, and  
 Undaunted ; faithful to his Lord's command.  
 Requiting good for ill ; directing all  
 Right in the way that leads out of the fall.  
 Open and free to ev'ry thirsty lamb ;  
 Unspotted, pure, clean, holy, without blame.  
 Glory, light, splendour, lustre, was his crown,  
 Happy his change to him ;—the loss our own.

---

Unica post cineres virtus veneranda beatos  
 Efficit.

Virtue alone, which reverence ought to have,  
 Doth make men happy, e'en beyond the grave.

---

While I had thus been breathing forth my grief,  
 In hopes thereby to get me some relief,  
 I heard, methought, his voice say, " Cease to mourn.  
 I live ; and though the veil of flesh once worn  
 Be now stript off, dissolv'd, and laid aside,  
 My spirit's with thee, and shall so abide."  
 This satisfied me ; down I threw my quill,  
 Willing to be resign'd to God's pure will.

Having discharged this duty to the memory of my deceased friend, I went on in my new province, instructing my little pupils in the rudiments of the Latin tongue, to the mutual satisfaction of both their parents and myself. As soon as I had gotten a little money in my pocket, which, as a premium without compact, I received from them, I took the first opportunity to return to my friend William Penington the money which he had so kindly furnished me with in my need, at the time of my imprisonment in Bridewell, with a due acknowledgment of my obligation to him for it. He was not at all forward to receive it, so that I was fain to press it upon him.

While thus I remained in this family, various suspicions arose in the minds of some concerning me, with respect to Mary Penington's fair daughter Guli. For she having now arrived to a marriageable age, and being in all respects a very desirable woman, whether regard was had to her outward person, which wanted nothing to render her completely comely; or to the endowments of her mind, which were every way extraordinary, and highly obliging; or to her outward fortune, which was fair, and which with some hath not the last, nor the least place in consideration—she was openly and secretly sought, and solicited by many, and some of them almost of every rank and condition; good and bad, rich and poor, friend and foe. To whom, in their respective turns, till he at length came for whom she was reserved, she carried herself with so much evenness of temper, such courteous freedom, guarded with the strictest modesty, that, as it gave encouragement or ground of hopes to none, so neither did it administer any matter of offence or just cause of complaint to any.

But such as were thus either engaged for themselves, or desirous to make themselves advocates for others, could not, I observed, but look upon me with an eye of jealousy and fear, that I would improve the opportunities I had, by frequent and familiar conversation



with her, to my own advantage, in working myself into her good opinion and favour, to the ruin of their pretences. According, therefore, to the several kinds and degrees of their fears of me, they suggested to her parents their ill surmises against me.

Some stuck not to question the sincerity of my intentions, in coming at first among the Quakers; urging, with a "Why may it not be so?" that the desire and hopes of obtaining by that means so fair a fortune, might be the prime and chief inducement to me to thrust myself amongst that people. But this surmise could find no place with those worthy friends of mine, her father-in-law and her mother, who, besides the clear sense and sound judgment they had in themselves, knew very well upon what terms I came among them; how strait and hard the passage was to me; how contrary to all worldly interest, which lay fair another way; how much I had suffered from my father for it; and how regardless I had been of attempting or seeking anything of that nature, in these three or four years I had been amongst them.

Some others, measuring me by the propensity of their own inclinations, concluded I would steal her, run away with her, and marry her; which they thought I might be the more easily induced to do, from the advantageous opportunities I frequently had of riding and walking abroad with her, by night as well as by day, without any other company than her maid. For so great indeed was the confidence that her mother had in me, that she thought her daughter safe if I was with her, even from the plots and designs that others had upon her. And so honourable were the thoughts she entertained concerning me, as would not suffer her to admit a suspicion that I could be capable of so much baseness as to betray the trust she, with so great freedom, reposed in me.

I was not ignorant of the various fears which filled the jealous heads of some concerning me, neither was

I so stupid, nor so divested of all humanity, as not to be sensible of the real and innate worth and virtue which adorned that excellent dame, and attracted the eyes and hearts of so many with the greatest impurity to seek and solicit her. But the force of truth, and sense of honour, suppressed whatever would have risen beyond the bounds of fair and virtuous friendship. For I easily foresaw, that if I should attempt anything in a dishonourable way, by force or fraud upon her, I should thereby bring a wound upon mine own soul, a foul scandal upon my religious profession, and an infamous stain upon mine honour; either of which was far more dear unto me than my life. Wherefore, having observed how some others had befooled themselves, by misconstruing her common kindness, expressed in an innocent, open, free, and familiar conversation, springing from the abundant affability, courtesy, and sweetness of her natural temper, to be the effect of a singular regard and peculiar affection to them; I resolved to shun the rock on which I had seen so many run and split; and remembering that saying of the poet,

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum—

Happy's he,  
Whom others' dangers wary make to be—

I governed myself in a free yet respectful carriage towards her, that I thereby preserved a fair reputation with my friends, and enjoyed as much of her favour and kindness, in a virtuous and firm friendship, as was fit for her to shew, or for me to seek.

Thus leading a quiet and contented life, I had leisure sometimes to write a copy of verses, on one occasion or another, as the poetic vein naturally opened, without taking pains to polish them. Such was this which follows, occasioned by the sudden death of some lusty people in their full strength.

## EST VITA CADUCA.

As is the fragrant flower in the field,  
 Which in the spring a pleasant smell doth yield,  
 And lovely sight, but soon is withered,  
 So's MAN; to-day alive, to-morrow dead:  
 And as the silver-dew-bespangled grass,  
 Which in the morn bedecks its mother's face,  
 But ere the scorching summer's past looks brown,  
 Or by the scythe is suddenly cut down,  
 Just such is man, who vaunts himself to-day,  
 Decking himself in all his best array;  
 But in the midst of all his bravery  
 Death rounds him in the ear, "Friend, thou must die!"

Or like a shadow in a sunny day,  
 Which in a moment vanisheth away;  
 Or like a smile or spark; such is the span  
 Of life allow'd this microcosm MAN.

Cease then, vain man, to boast; for this is true,  
 Thy brightest glory's as the morning dew,  
 Which disappears when first the rising sun  
 Displays his beams above the horison.

As the consideration of the uncertainty of human life drew the foregoing lines from me, so the sense I had of the folly of mankind, in misspending the little time allowed them in evil ways and vain sports, led me more particularly to trace the several courses wherein the generality of men run, unprofitably at best, if not to their hurt and ruin: which I introduced with that axiom of the preacher, (Eccles. i. 2,)—

## ALL IS VANITY.

---

See here the state of MAN as in a glass,  
 And how the fashion of this world doth pass.

---

SOME in a tavern spend the longest day,  
 While others hawk and hunt the time away.  
 Here one his mistress courts; another dances;  
 A third incites to lust by wanton glances.

This wastes the day in dressing; th' other seeks  
 To set fresh colours on her withered cheeks,  
 That when the sun declines, some dapper spark  
 May take her to Spring-garden or the Park.  
 Plays some frequent, and balls; others their prime  
 Consume at dice; some bowl away their time.  
 With cards some wholly captivated are;  
 From tables others scarce an hour can spare.  
 One to soft music mancipates his ear;  
 At shovel-board another spends the year.  
 The pall-mall this accounts the only sport;  
 That keeps a racket in the tennis court.  
 Some strain their very eyes and throats with singing,  
 While others strip their hands and backs at ringing.  
 Another sort with greedy eyes are waiting  
 Either at cock-pit, or some great bull-baiting.  
 This dotes on running horses; t' other fool  
 Is never well but in the fencing-school.  
 Wrestling and football, nine pins, prison-base,  
 Among the rural clowns find each a place.  
 Nay, Joan unwash'd will leave her milking-pail,  
 To dance at May-pole, or a Whitsun-ale.  
 Thus wallow most in sensual delight,  
 As if their day should never have a night;  
 Till nature's pale-faced serjeant them surprise,  
 And as the tree then falls, just so it lies.  
 Now look at home, thou who these lines dost read,  
 See which of all these paths thyself doth tread;  
 And ere it be too late that path forsake,  
 Which, follow'd, will thee miserable make.

After I had thus enumerated some of the many  
 vanities in which the generality of men misspent their  
 time, I sang the following

#### ODE IN PRAISE OF VIRTUE.

WEALTH, beauty, pleasures, honours, all adieu;  
 I value virtue far, far more than you.  
     You're all but toys  
     For girls and boys  
 To play withal; at best deceitful joys.

She lives for ever; ye are transitory :  
 Her honour is unstained ; but your glory  
     Is mere deceit,  
     A painted bait,  
 Hung out for such as sit at Folly's gate.

True peace, content, and joy, on her attend ;  
 You, on the contrary, your forces bend  
     To blear men's eyes  
     With fopperies,  
 Which fools embrace, but wiser men despise.

About this time, my father, resolving to sell his estate, and having reserved for his own use such parts of his household goods as he thought fit, not willing to take upon himself the trouble of selling the rest, gave them unto me : whereupon I went down to Crowell, and, having before given notice there and thereabouts that I intended a public sale of them, I sold them, and thereby put some money into my pocket. Yet I sold such things only as I judged useful ; leaving the pictures and armour, of which there was some store there, unsold.

Not long after this my father sent for me to come to him at London about some business ; which, when I came there, I understood was to join with him in the sale of his estate, which the purchaser required for his own satisfaction and safety, I being then the next heir to it in law. And although I might probably have made some advantageous terms for myself by standing off, yet when I was satisfied by counsel, that there was no entail upon it, or right of reversion to me, but that he might lawfully dispose of it as he pleased, I readily joined with him in the sale, without asking or having the least gratuity or compensation ; no, not so much as the fee I had given to counsel, to secure me from any danger in doing it.

There having been some time before this a very severe law made against the Quakers by name, and

more particularly prohibiting our meetings, under the sharpest penalties, of five pounds for the first offence, so called, ten pounds for the second, and banishment for the third, under pain of felony for escaping or returning without license; which law was looked upon to have been procured by the bishops, in order to bring us to a conformity to their way of worship; I wrote a few lines in way of dialogue between a Bishop and a Quaker, which I called

### CONFORMITY PRESSED AND REPRESSED.

- B.* What! You are one of them that do deny  
To yield obedience by conformity.
- Q.* Nay: we desire conformable to be.
- B.* But unto what?—*Q.* “The image of the Son.”
- B.* What’s that to us! we’ll have conformity  
Unto our form.—*Q.* Then we shall ne’er have done;  
For, if your fickle minds should alter, we  
Should be to seek a new conformity.  
Thus who to-day conform to prelacy,  
To-morrow may conform to popery.  
But take this for an answer, bishop, we  
Cannot conform either to them or thee.  
For while to truth your forms are opposite,  
Whoe’er conforms thereto doth not aright.
- B.* We’ll make such knaves as you conform, or lie  
Confined in prison till ye rot and die.
- Q.* Well, gentle bishop, I may live to see,  
For all thy threats, a check to cruelty;  
But, in the meantime, I, for my defence,  
Betake me to my fortress, patience.

No sooner was this cruel law made than it was put in execution with great severity; the sense whereof working strongly on my spirit, made my cry earnestly to the Lord, that he would arise and set up his righteous judgment in the earth, for the deliverance of his people from all their enemies, both inward and outward: and in these terms I uttered it:—

**AWAKE, awake, O arm o' th' Lord, awake!**

Thy sword up take;

**Cast what would thine forgetful of thee make,  
Into the lake.**

**Awake, I pray, O mighty Jah! awake,  
Make all the world before thy presence quake,  
Not only earth, but heaven also shake.**

**Arise, arise, O Jacob's God, arise!**

And hear the cries

**Of ev'ry soul which in distress now lies,  
And to thee flies.**

**Arise, I pray, O Israel's hope! arise,  
Set free thy seed, oppress'd by enemies.  
Why should they over it still tyrannize?**

**Make speed, make speed, O Israel's help! make speed,  
In time of need;**

**For evil men have wickedly decreed  
Against thy seed.**

**Make speed, I pray, O mighty God! make speed,  
Let all thy lambs from savage wolves be freed,  
That fearless on thy mountain they may feed.**

**Ride on, ride on, thou valiant man of might,  
And put to flight**

**Those sons of Belial, who do dispight  
To the upright.**

**Ride on, I say, thou champion! and smite**

**Thine and thy people's enemies with such might,  
That none may dare 'gainst thee or thine to fight.**

Although the storm raised by the act for banishment fell with the greatest weight and force upon some other parts, as at London, Hertford, &c., yet we were not in Buckinghamshire wholly exempted therefrom, for a part of that shower reached us also. For a friend of Amersham, whose name was Edward Perot, or Parret, departing this life, and notice being given that his body would be buried there on such a day, which was the first day of the fifth month, 1665, the friends of the adjacent parts of the country resorted pretty generally to the burial; so that there was a fair appearance of friends and neighbours, the

deceased having been well-beloved by both. After we had spent some time together in the house, Morgan Watkins, who at that time happened to be at Isaac Penington's, being with us, the body was taken up and borne on friends' shoulders along the street, in order to be carried to the burying-ground, which was at the town's end, being part of an orchard belonging to the deceased, which he in his life-time had appointed for that service.

It so happened, that one Ambrose Bennet, a barrister at law, and a justice of the peace for that county, riding through the town that morning in his way to Aylesbury, was, by some ill-disposed person or other, informed that there was a Quaker to be buried there that day, and that most of the Quakers in the country were come thither to the burial. Upon this he set up his horses and staid; and when we, not knowing anything of his design against us, went innocently forward to perform our Christian duty for the interment of our friend, he rushed out of his inn upon us, with the constables and a rabble of rude fellows whom he had gathered together, and having his drawn sword in his hand, struck one of the foremost of the bearers with it, commanding them to set down the coffin. But the friend who was so stricken, whose name was Thomas Dell, being more concerned for the safety of the dead body than his own, lest it should fall from his shoulder, and any indecency thereupon follow, held the coffin fast; which the justice observing, and being enraged that his word, how unjust soever, was not forthwith obeyed, set his hand to the coffin, and with a forcible thrust threw it off from the bearers' shoulders, so that it fell to the ground in the midst of the street; and there we were forced to leave it: for immediately thereupon the justice giving command for apprehending us, the constables with the rabble fell on us, and drew some, and drove others into the inn, giving thereby an opportunity to the rest to walk away.



Of those that were thus taken I was one: and being, with many more, put into a room under a guard, we were kept there till another justice, called sir Thomas Clayton, whom justice Bennet had sent for to join with him in committing us, was come. And then, being called forth severally before them, they picked out ten of us, and committed us to Aylesbury gaol, for what neither we nor they knew: for we were not convicted of having either done or said anything which the law could take hold of: for they took us up in an open street, the king's highway, not doing any unlawful act, but peaceably carrying and accompanying the corpse of our deceased friend, to bury it: which they would not suffer us to do, but caused the body to lie in the open street, and in the cartway; so that all the travellers that passed by, whether horsemen, coaches, carts, or waggons, were fain to break out of the way to go by it, that they might not drive over it, until it was almost night. And then, having caused a grave to be made in the unconsecrated part, as it is accounted, of that which is called the church-yard, they forcibly took the body from the widow, whose right and property it was, and buried it there.

When the justices had delivered us prisoners to the constable, it being then late in the day, which was the seventh day of the week, he, not willing to go so far as Aylesbury (nine long miles) with us that night, nor to put the town to the charge of keeping us there that night and the first day and night following, dismissed us upon our parole to come to him again at a set hour on the second-day morning: whereupon we all went home to our respective habitations; and coming to him punctually according to promise, were by him, without guard, conducted to the prison.

The gaoler, whose name was Nathaniel Birch, had not long before behaved himself very wickedly, with great rudeness and cruelty to some of our friends of the lower side of the county, whom he, combining

with the clerk of the peace, whose name was Henry Wells, had contrived to get into his gaol; and after they were legally discharged in court, detained them in prison; using great violence, and shutting them up close in the common gaol among the felons, because they would not give him his unrighteous demand of fees; which they were the more straitened in, from his treacherous dealing with them. And they having, through suffering, maintained their freedom, and obtained their liberty, we were the more concerned to keep what they had so hardly gained, and therefore resolved not to make any contract or terms for either chamber-rent or fees, but to demand a free prison, which we did.

When we came in, the gaoler was ridden out to wait on the judges, who came in that day to begin the assize, and his wife was somewhat at a loss how to deal with us; but being a cunning woman, she treated us with great appearance of courtesy, offering us the choice of all her rooms; and when we asked upon what terms, she still referred us to her husband; telling us she did not doubt but that he would be very reasonable and civil to us. Thus she endeavoured to draw us to take possession of some of her chambers at a venture, and trust to her husband's kind usage. But we, who, at the cost of our friends, had a proof of his kindness, were too wary to be drawn in by the fair words of a woman; and therefore told her we would not settle anywhere till her husband came home, and then would have a free prison, wheresoever he put us. Accordingly, walking all together into the court of the prison, in which was a well of very good water, and having beforehand sent to a friend in the town, a widow woman, whose name was Sarah Lambarn, to bring us some bread and cheese, we sat down upon the ground round about the well, and when we had eaten, we drank of the water out of the well. Our great concern was for our friend Isaac Penington, because of the tenderness

of his constitution; but he was so lively in his spirit, and so cheerfully given up to suffer, that he rather encouraged us than needed any encouragement from us.

In this posture the gaoler, when he came home, found us; and having before he came to us consulted his wife, and by her understood on what terms we stood, when he came to us, he hid his teeth, and putting on a show of kindness, seemed much troubled that we should sit there abroad, especially his old friend Mr Penington; and thereupon invited us to come in, and take what rooms in his house we pleased. We asked upon what terms; letting him know withal, that we determined to have a free prison. He, like the sun and wind in the fable, that strove which of them should take from the traveller his cloak, having, like the wind, tried rough, boisterous, violent means to our friends before, but in vain, resolved now to imitate the sun, and shine as pleasantly as he could upon us; wherefore he told us, we should make the terms ourselves, and be as free as we desired: if we thought fit, when we were released, to give him anything, he would thank us for it; and if not, he would demand nothing. Upon these terms we went in and disposed ourselves, some in the dwelling house, others in the malt house, where they chose to be.

During the assize we were brought before judge Morton, a sour, angry man, who very rudely reviled us; but would not hear either us or the cause, but referred the matter to the two justices who had committed us. They, when the assize was ended, sent for us to be brought before them at their inn, and fined us, as I remember, six shillings and eightpence a-piece; which we not consenting to pay, they committed us to prison again for one month from that time, on the act for banishment.

When we had lain there that month, I, with another, went to the gaoler, to demand our liberty, which he readily granted, telling us the door should be opened when we pleased to go. This answer of his I reported

to the rest of my friends there, and thereupon we realised among us a small sum of money, which they put into my hand for the gaoler ; whereupon I, taking another with me, went to the gaoler with the money in my hand, and reminding him of the terms upon which we accepted the use of his rooms, I told him, that although we could not pay chamber rent or fees, yet, inasmuch as he had now been civil to us, we were willing to acknowledge it by a small token, and thereupon gave him the money. He, putting it into his pocket, said, " I thank you and your friends for it ; and to let you see I take it as a gift, not a debt, I will not look on it to see how much it is."

The prison door being then set open for us, we went out, and departed to our respective homes. But before I left the prison, considering one day with myself the different kinds of liberty and confinement, freedom and bondage, I took my pen, and wrote the following enigma or riddle :—

Lo ! here a riddle to the wise,  
In which a mystery there lies ;  
Read it therefore with that eye,  
Which can discern a mystery.

THE RIDDLE.

Some men are free, while they in prison lie ;  
Others, who ne'er saw prison, captives die.

CAUTION.

He that can receive it may ;  
He that cannot, let him say.  
And not be hasty, but suspend  
His judgment till he sees the end.

SOLUTION.

He only's free indeed, that's free from sin,  
And he is fastest bound, that's bound therein.

CONCLUSION.

This is the liberty I chiefly prize,  
The other, without this, I can despise.

Some little time before I went to Aylesbury prison, I was desired by my *quandam* master, Milton, to take a house for him in the neighbourhood where I dwelt, that he might go out of the city, for the safety of himself and his family, the pestilence then growing hot in London. I took a pretty box for him in Giles Chalfont, a mile from me, of which I gave him notice, and intended to wait on him, and see him well settled in it, but was prevented by that imprisonment. But now being released, and returned home, I soon made a visit to him, to welcome him into the country. After some common discourses had passed between us, he called for a manuscript of his ; which, being brought, he delivered to me, bidding me take it home with me and read it at my leisure ; and when I had so done, return it to him with my judgment thereupon.

When I came home, and had set myself to read it, I found it was that excellent poem which he entitled 'Paradise Lost.' After I had, with the best attention, read it through, I made him another visit, and returned him his book, with due acknowledgment of the favour he had done me in communicating it to me. He asked me how I liked it, and what I thought of it ; which I modestly but freely told him ; and after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, "Thou hast said much here of *Paradise Lost*, but what hast thou to say of *Paradise Found*?" He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse ; then brake off that discourse, and fell upon another subject. After the sickness was over, and the city well cleansed, and become safely habitable again, he returned thither. And when afterwards I went to wait on him there, which I seldom failed of doing whenever my occasions drew me to London, he shewed me his second poem, called 'Paradise Regained,' and in a pleasant tone said to me, "This is owing to you, for you put it into my head by the question you put to me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of." But from this digression, I return to the family I then lived in.

We had not been long at home, about a month perhaps, before Isaac Penington was taken out of his house in an arbitrary manner, by military force, and carried prisoner to Aylesbury gaol again, where he lay three quarters of a year, with great hazard of his life, it being the sickness year, and the plague being not only in the town but in the gaol.

Meanwhile his wife and family were turned out of his house, called the Grange, at Peter's Chalfont, by them who had seized upon his estate; and the family being by that means broken up, some went one way, others another. Mary Penington herself, with her younger children, went down to her husband at Aylesbury. Guli, with her maid, went to Bristol, to visit her former maid Anne Hersent, who was married to a merchant of that city, whose name was Thomas Biss; and I went to Aylesbury with the children; but not finding the place agreeable to my health, I soon left it, and returning to Chalfont, took a lodging, and was dieted in the house of a friendly man; and after some time went to Bristol, to conduct Guli home. Meanwhile Mary Penington took lodgings in a farm-house called Bottrels, in the parish of Giles Chalfont, where, when we returned from Bristol, we found her.

We had been there but a very little time before I was sent to prison again, upon this occasion: there was in those times a meeting once a month at the house of George Salter, a friend of Hedgerley, to which we sometimes went; and Morgan Watkins being with us, he and I, with Guli and her maid, and one Judith Parker, wife of Dr Parker, one of the College of Physicians at London, with a maiden daughter of theirs, (neither of whom were Quakers, but, as acquaintance of Mary Penington, were with her on a visit,) walked over to that meeting; it being about the middle of the first month, and the weather good.

This place was about a mile from the house of Ambrose Bennet, the justice, who the summer before had sent me and some other friends to Aylesbury prison,

from the burial of Edward Parret of Amersham ; and he, by what means I know not, getting notice not only of the meeting, but, as was supposed, of our being there, came himself to it ; and as he came, caught up a stackwood stick, big enough to knock any man down, and brought it with him hidden under his cloak. Being come to the house, he stood for a while without the door, and out of sight, listening to hear what was said, for Morgan was then speaking in the meeting. But certainly he heard very imperfectly, if it was true which we heard he said afterwards among his companions, as an argument that Morgan was a Jesuit, viz. " that in his preaching he trolled over his Latin as fluently as ever he heard any one." Whereas Morgan, good man ! was better versed in Welsh than in Latin, which, I suppose, he had never learned : I am sure he did not understand it.

When this martial justice, who at Amersham had, with his drawn sword, struck an unarmed man, who he knew would not strike again, had now stood some time abroad, on a sudden he rushed in among us, with the stackwood stick held up in his hand ready to strike, crying out, " Make way there : " and an ancient woman not getting soon enough out of his way, he struck her with the stick a shrewd blow over the breast. Then pressing through the crowd to the place where Morgan stood, he plucked him from thence, and caused so great a disorder in the room, that it brake the meeting up ; yet would not the people go away or disperse themselves, but tarried to see what the issue would be.

Then taking pen and paper, he sat down at the table among us, and asked several of us our names, which we gave, and he set down in writing. Amongst others he asked Judith Parker, the doctor's wife, what her name was, which she readily gave ; and thence taking occasion to discourse him, she so over-mastered him by clear reason, delivered in fine language, that he, glad to be rid of her, struck out her name and dis-

missed her; yet did not she remove, but kept her place amongst us. When he had taken what number of names he thought fit, he singled out half a dozen; whereof Morgan was one, I another, one man more, and three women, of which the woman of the house was one, although her husband then was, and for divers years before had been, a prisoner in the Fleet for tithes, and had nobody to take care of his family and business but her his wife.

Us six he committed to Aylesbury gaol: which when the doctor's wife heard him read to the constable, she attacked him again, and having put him in mind that it was a sickly time, and that the pestilence was reported to be in that place, she, in handsome terms, desired him to consider in time how he would answer the cry of our blood, if, by his sending us to be shut up in an infected place, we should lose our lives there. This made him alter his purpose, and by a new mittimus he sent us to the house of correction at Wycombe. And although he committed us upon the act for banishment, which limited a certain time for imprisonment, yet he in his mittimus limited no time, but ordered us to be kept till we should be delivered by due course of law; so little regardful was he, though a lawyer, of keeping to the letter of the law.

We were committed on the 13th day of the month called March, 1665, and were kept close prisoners there till the 7th day of the month called June, which was some days above twelve weeks, and much above what the act required. Then were we sent for to the justice's house, and the rest being released, Morgan Watkins and I were required to find sureties for our appearance at the next assizes; which we refusing to do, were committed anew to our old prison, the house of correction at Wycombe, there to lie until the next assizes: Morgan being in this second mittimus represented as a notorious offender in preaching, and I, as being upon the second conviction, in order to banish-



ment. There we lay till the 25th day of the same month; and then, by the favour of the earl of Ancram, being brought before him at his house, we were discharged from the prison, upon our promise to appear, if at liberty and in health, at the assizes: which we did, and were there discharged by proclamation.

During my imprisonment in this prison, I betook myself for an employment to making of nets for kitchen service, to boil herbs, &c. in, which trade I learned of Morgan Watkins; and selling some, and giving others, I pretty well stocked the friends of that country with them.

Though in that confinement I was not very well suited with company for conversation, Morgan's natural temper not being very agreeable to mine; yet we kept a fair and brotherly correspondence, as became friends, prison-fellows, and bed-fellows, which we were. And indeed it was a good time, I think, to us all, for I found it so to me; the Lord being graciously pleased to visit my soul with the refreshing dews of his divine life, whereby my spirit was more and more quickened to him, and truth gained ground in me over the temptations and snares of the enemy; which frequently raised in my heart thanksgivings and praises unto the Lord. And at one time more especially the sense I had of the prosperity of truth, and the spreading thereof, filling my heart with abundant joy, made my cup overflow, and the following lines dropt out:—

For truth I suffer bonds, in truth I live,  
 And unto truth this testimony give,  
 That truth shall over all exalted be,  
 And in dominion reign for evermore:  
 The child's already born that this may see  
 Honour, praise, glory be to God therefore.

And underneath thus:—

Though death and hell should against truth combine,  
 Its glory shall through all their darkness shine.

This I saw with an eye of faith, beyond the reach  
of human sense ; for,

As strong desire  
Draws objects nigher  
In apprehension, than indeed they are ;  
I, with an eye  
That pierced high,  
Did thus of truth's prosperity declare.

After we had been discharged at the assizes, I returned to Isaac Penington's family at Bottrel's in Chalfont, and, as I remember, Morgan Watkins with me, leaving Isaac Penington a prisoner in Aylesbury gaol. The lodgings we had in this farm-house (Bottrel's) proving too strait and inconvenient for the family, I took larger and better lodgings for them in Berrie house at Amersham, whither we went at the time called Michaelmas, having spent the summer at the other place.

Some time after was that memorable meeting appointed to be holden at London, through a divine opening in the motion of life, in that eminent servant and prophet of God, George Fox, for the restoring and bringing in again of those who had gone out from truth, and the holy unity of friends therein, by the means and ministry of John Perrot.

This man came pretty early amongst friends, and too early took upon him the ministerial office ; and being, though little in person, yet great in opinion of himself, nothing less would serve him than to go and convert the pope : in order whereunto, he having a better man than himself, John Luff, to accompany him, travelled to Rome, where they had not been long ere they were taken up, and clapped into prison. Luff, as I remember, was put into the inquisition, and Perrot in their bedlam or hospital for madmen. Luff died in prison, not without well-grounded suspicion of being murdered there : but Perrot lay there some time, and now and then sent over an epistle to be

printed here, written in such an affected and fantastic style, as might have induced an indifferent reader to believe they had suited the place of his confinement to his condition.

After some time, through the mediation of friends (who hoped better of him than he proved) with some person of note and interest there, he was released, and came back to England. And the report of his great sufferings there, far greater in report than in reality, joined with a singular show of sanctity, so far opened the hearts of many tender and compassionate friends towards him, that it gave him the advantage of insinuating himself into their affections and esteem, and made way for the more ready propagation of that peculiar error of his, of keeping on the hat in time of prayer, as well public as private, unless they had an immediate motion at that time to put it off.

Now, although I had not the least acquaintance with this man, not having ever exchanged a word with him, though I knew him by sight; nor had I any esteem for him, for either his natural parts or ministerial gift, but rather a dislike of his aspect, preaching, and way of writing; yet this error of his being broached in the time of my infancy and weakness of judgment as to truth, while I lived privately in London and had little converse with friends, I, amongst the many who were caught in that snare, was taken with the notion, as what then seemed to my weak understanding suitable to the doctrine of a spiritual dispensation. And the matter coming to warm debates, both in words and writing, I, in a misguided zeal, was ready to enter the lists of contention about it; not then seeing what spirit it proceeded from and was managed by, nor foreseeing the disorder and confusion in worship which must naturally attend it. But as I had no evil intention or sinister end in engaging in it, but was simply betrayed by the specious pretence and show of greater spirituality, the Lord, in tender compassion to my soul, was graciously pleased to open my

understanding, and give me a clear sight of the enemy's design in this work, and drew me off from the practice of it, and to bear testimony against it as occasion offered.

But when that solemn meeting was appointed at London, for a travail in spirit on behalf of those who had thus gone out, that they might rightly return, and be sensibly received into the unity of the body again; my spirit rejoiced, and with gladness of heart I went to it, as did many more of both city and country; and, with great simplicity and humility of mind, did honestly and openly acknowledge our outgoing, and take condemnation and shame to ourselves. And some that lived at too remote a distance, in this nation as well as beyond the seas, upon notice of that meeting and the intended service of it, did the like by writing, in letters directed to and openly read in the meeting, which for that purpose was continued many days.

Thus, in the motion of life, were the healing waters stirred, and many, through the virtuous power thereof, restored to soundness; and indeed not many lost. And though most of those who thus returned were such as with myself had before renounced the error and forsaken the practice, yet did we sensibly find, that forsaking without confessing, in case of public scandal, was not sufficient; but that an open acknowledgment of open offences, as well as forsaking them, was necessary to the obtaining of complete remission.

Not long after this, George Fox was moved of the Lord to travel through the country, from county to county, to advise and encourage friends to set up monthly and quarterly meetings, for the better ordering of the affairs of the church, in taking care of the poor, and exercising a true gospel discipline, for a due dealing with any that might walk disorderly under our name, and to see that such as should marry among us did act fairly and clearly in that respect.

When he came into this county, I was one of the many friends that were with him at the meeting for that purpose. And afterwards I travelled with Guli and her maid into the west of England, to meet him there and to visit friends in those parts; and we went as far as Topsham, in Devonshire, before we found him. He had been in Cornwall, and was then returning, and came in unexpectedly at Topsham, where we then were providing, if he had not then come thither, to go that day towards Cornwall. But after he was come to us we turned back with him through Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Dorsetshire, having generally very good meetings where he was; and the work he was chiefly concerned in went on very prosperously and well, without any opposition or dislike; save that in the general meeting of friends in Dorsetshire, a quarrelsome man, who had gone out from friends in John Perrot's business, and had not come rightly in again, but continued in the practice of keeping on his hat in the time of prayer, to the great trouble and offence of friends, began to cavil and raise disputes, which occasioned some interruption and disturbance.

Not only George and Alexander Parker, who were with him, but divers of the ancient friends of that county, endeavoured to quiet that troublesome man, and make him sensible of his error; but his unruly spirit would still be opposing what was said unto him, and justifying himself in that practice. This brought a great weight and exercise upon me, who sat at a distance in the outward part of the meeting; and after I had for some time borne the burthen thereof, I stood up in the constraining power of the Lord, and, in great tenderness of spirit, declared unto the meeting, and to that person more particularly, how it had been with me in that respect; how I had been betrayed into that wrong practice; how strong I had been therein, and how the Lord had been graciously pleased to show me the evil thereof, and recover me

out of it. This coming unexpectedly from me, a young man, a stranger, and one who had not inter-meddled with the business of the meeting, had that effect upon the caviller, that if it did not satisfy him, it did at least silence him, and made him for the present sink down and be still, without giving any further disturbance to the meeting. And the friends were well pleased with this unlooked-for testimony from me; and I was glad that I had that opportunity to confess to the truth, and to acknowledge once more, in so public a manner, the mercy and goodness of the Lord to me therein.

By the time we came back from this journey the summer was pretty far gone; and the following winter I spent with the children of the family, as before, without any remarkable alteration in my circumstances, until the next spring, when I found in myself a disposition of mind to change my single life for a married state. I had always entertained so high a regard for marriage, as it was a divine institution, that I held it not lawful to make it a sort of political trade, to rise in the world by. And therefore, as I could not but in my judgment blame such as I found made it their business to hunt after and endeavour to gain those who were accounted great fortunes, not so much regarding what she *is* as what she *has*, but making wealth the chief, if not the only thing aimed at, so I resolved to avoid, in my own practice, that course, and how much soever my condition might have prompted me, as well as others, to seek advantage that way, never to engage on the account of riches, nor at all to marry till judicious affection drew me to it, which I now began to feel at work in my breast.

The object of this affection was a friend whose name was Mary Ellis, whom for divers years I had had an acquaintance with in the way of common friendship only; and in whom I thought I then saw those fair prints of truth and solid virtue, which I

afterwards found in a sublime degree in her; but what her condition in the world was as to estate, I was wholly a stranger to, nor desired to know. I had once, a year or two before, had an opportunity to do her a small piece of service, which she wanted some assistance in; wherein I acted with all sincerity and freedom of mind, not expecting or desiring any advantage by her, or reward from her, being very well satisfied in the act itself, that I had served a friend, and helped the helpless.

That little intercourse of common kindness between us, ended without the least thought (I am verily persuaded, on her part; and well assured on my own) of any other or further relation than that of a free and fair friendship; nor did it, at that time, lead us into any closer conversation, or more intimate acquaintance one with the other, than had been before. But some time (and that a good while) after, I found my heart secretly drawn and inclining towards her; yet was I not hasty in proposing, but waited to feel a satisfactory settlement of mind therein, before I made any step thereto.

After some time, I took an opportunity to open my mind therein unto my much honoured friends Isaac and Mary Penington, who then stood *parentum loco*, in the place or stead of parents to me. They having solemnly weighed the matter, expressed their unity therewith; and indeed their approbation thereof was no small confirmation to me therein. Yet took I further deliberation, often retiring in spirit to the Lord, and crying to him for direction, before I addressed myself to her. At length, as I was sitting all alone, waiting upon the Lord for counsel and guidance in this, in itself and to me, so important affair, I felt a word sweetly arise in me, as if I heard a voice, which said, "Go, and prevail." And faith springing in my heart with the word, I immediately arose, and went, nothing doubting.

When I was come to her lodgings, which were

about a mile from me, her maid told me she was in her chamber; for having been under some indisposition of body, which had obliged her to keep her chamber, she had not yet left it; wherefore I desired the maid to acquaint her mistress that I was come to give her a visit, whereupon I was invited to go up to her. And after some little time spent in common conversation, feeling my spirit weightily concerned, I solemnly opened my mind unto her, with respect to the particular business I came about; which I soon perceived was a great surprisal to her; for she had taken in an apprehension, as others had done, that mine eye had been fixed elsewhere, and nearer home.

I used not many words to her; but I felt a divine power went along with the words, and fixed the matter expressed by them so fast in her breast, that, as she afterwards acknowledged to me, she could not shut it out. I made at that time but a short visit; for having told her I did not expect an answer from her now, but desired she would, in the most solemn manner, weigh the proposal made, and in due time give me such an answer thereunto as the Lord should give her, I took my leave of her, and departed, leaving the issue to the Lord.

I had a journey then at hand, which I foresaw would take me up two weeks time. Wherefore, the day before I was to set out, I went to visit her again, to acquaint her with my journey, and excuse my absence; not yet pressing her for an answer, but assuring her, that I felt in myself an increase of affection to her, and hoped to receive a suitable return from her in the Lord's time; to whom, in the meantime, I committed both her, myself, and the concern between us. And indeed I found, at my return, that I could not have left it in a better hand; for the Lord had been my advocate in my absence, and had so far answered all her objections, that when I came to her again, she rather acquainted me with them than urged them. From that time forwards we en-



tertained each other with affectionate kindness, in order to marriage; which yet we did not hasten to, but went on deliberately. Neither did I use those vulgar ways of courtship, by making frequent and rich presents; not only for that my outward condition would not comport with the expense, but because I liked not to obtain by such means, but preferred an unbribed affection.

While this affair stood thus with me I had occasion to take another journey into Kent and Sussex; which yet I would not mention here, but for a particular accident which befell me on the way. The occasion of this journey was this: Mary Penington's daughter Guli, intending to go to her uncle Springett's, in Sussex, and from thence amongst her tenants, her mother desired me to accompany her, and assist her in her business with her tenants.

We tarried at London the first night, and set out next morning on the Tunbridge road; and Seven Oak lying in our way, we put in there to bait: but truly we had much ado to get either provisions or room for ourselves or our horses, the house was so filled with guests, and those not of the better sort. For the duke of York being, as we were told, on the road that day for the Wells, divers of his guards, and the meaner sort of his retinue, had nearly filled all the inns there. I left John Gigger, who waited on Guli in this journey, and was afterwards her menial servant, to take care for the horses, while I did the like, as well as I could, for her. I got a little room to put her into, and having shut her into it, went to see what relief the kitchen would afford us; and with much ado, by praying hard and paying dear, I got a small joint of meat from the spit, which served rather to stay than satisfy our stomachs, for we were all pretty sharp set.

After this short repast, being weary of our quarters, we quickly mounted, and took the road again, willing to hasten from a place where we found nothing but

rudeness : a knot of [rude people] soon followed us, designing, as we afterwards found, to put an abuse upon us, and make themselves sport with us. We had a spot of fine smooth sandy way, whereon the the horses trod so softly, that we heard them not till one of them was upon us. I was then riding a-breast with Guli and discoursing with her ; when on a sudden hearing a little noise, and turning mine eye that way, I saw a horseman coming up on the further side of her horse, having his left arm stretched out, just ready to take her about the waist, and pluck her off backwards from her own horse, to lay her before him upon his. I had but just time to thrust forth my stick between him and her, and bid him stand off ; and at the same time reining my horse to let her's go before me, thrust in between her and him, and being better mounted than he, my horse run him off. But his horse being, though weaker than mine, yet nimble, he slipped by me, and got up to her on the near side, endeavouring to offer abuse to her, to prevent which I thrust in upon him again, and in our jostling we drove her horse quite out of the way, and almost into the next hedge.

While we were thus contending, I heard a noise of loud laughter behind us, and turning my head that way, I saw three or four horsemen more, who could scarce sit their horses for laughing, to see the sport their compainion made with us. From thence I saw it was a plot laid, and that this rude fellow was not to be dallied with ; wherefore I bestirred myself the more to keep him off, admonishing him to take warning in time, and give over his abusiveness, lest he repented too late. He had in his hand a short thick truncheon, which he held up at me ; on which laying hold with a strong gripe, I suddenly wrenched it out of his hand, and threw it at as great a distance behind me as I could.

While he rode back to fetch his truncheon, I called up honest John Gigger, who was indeed a right

honest man, and of a temper so thoroughly peaceable. that he had not hitherto put in at all. But now I roused him, and bid him ride so close up to his mistress's horse on the further side, that no horse might thrust in between, and I would endeavour to guard the near side. But he, good man, not thinking it perhaps decent enough for him to ride so near his mistress, left room enough for another to ride between. And indeed so soon as our brute had recovered his truncheon, he came up directly thither, and had thrust in again, had not I, by a nimble turn, chopped in upon him, and kept him at bay. I then told him I had hitherto spared him, but wished him not to provoke me further. This I spake with such a tone, as bespoke a high resentment of the abuse put upon us, and withal pressed so close upon him with my horse, that I suffered him not to come up any more to Guli.

This, his companions, who kept an equal distance behind us, both heard and saw, and thereupon two of them advancing, came up to us. I then thought I might likely have my hands full, but providence turned it otherwise. For they, seeing the contest rise so high, and probably fearing it would rise higher, not knowing where it might stop, came in to part us; which they did by taking him away, one of them leading his horse by the bridle, and the other driving him on with his whip, and so carried him off.

One of their company staid yet behind. And it so happening that a great shower just then fell, we betook ourselves for shelter into a thick and well-spread oak, which stood hard by. Thither also came that other person, who wore the duke's livery; and while we put on our defensive garments against the weather, which then set in to be wet, he took the opportunity to discourse with me about the man that had been so rude to us, endeavouring to excuse him, by alleging that he had drunk a little too liberally. I let him know that one vice would not excuse another;

that although but one of them was actually concerned in the abuse, yet both he and the rest of them were abettors of it, and accessories to it; that I was not ignorant whose livery they wore, and was well assured their lord would not maintain them in committing such outrages upon travellers on the road, to our injury and his dishonour; that I understood the duke was coming down, and that they might expect to be called to an account for this rude action. He then begged hard that we would pass by the offence, and make no complaint to their lord; for he knew, he said, the duke would be very severe, and it would be the utter ruin of the young man. When he had said what he could, he went off before us, without any ground given him to expect favour; and when we had fitted ourselves for the weather, we followed after at our own pace.

When we came to Tunbridge, I set John Gigger foremost, bidding him lead on briskly through the town, and placing Guli in the middle, I came close up after her, that I might both observe and interpose, if any fresh abuse should be offered her. We were expected, I perceived; for though it rained very hard, the street was thronged with men, who looked very earnestly upon us, but did not put any affront upon us. We had a good way to ride beyond Tunbridge, and beyond the wells, in by-ways among the woods, and were the later for the hindrance we had had on the way. And when, being come to Harbert Springett's house, Guli acquainted her uncle what danger and trouble she had gone through on the way, he resented it so high, that he would have had the persons been prosecuted for it. But since providence had interposed, and so well preserved and delivered her, she chose to pass by the offence.

When Guli had finished the business she went upon, we returned home, and I delivered her safe to her glad mother. From that time forward I continued my visits to my best beloved friend until we married, which was on the 28th day of the eighth month,

called October, in the year 1669. We took each other in a select meeting of the ancient and grave friends of that country, holden in a friend's house, where in those times not only the monthly meeting for business, but the public meeting for worship was sometimes kept. A very solemn meeting it was, and in a weighty frame of spirit we were, in which we sensibly felt the Lord with us, and joining us; the sense whereof remained with us all our lifetime, and was of good service, and very comfortable to us on all occasions.

My next care, after marriage, was to secure my wife what monies she had, and with herself bestowed upon me. For I held it would be an abominable crime in me, and savour of the highest ingratitude, if I, though but through negligence, should leave room for my father, in case I should be taken away suddenly, to break in upon her estate, and deprive her of any part of that which had been and ought to be her own. Wherefore with the first opportunity (as I remember the very next day, and before I knew particularly what she had) I made my will, and thereby secured to her whatever I was possessed of, as well all that which she brought, either in monies or in goods, as that little which I had before I married her; which indeed was but little, yet more (by all that little) than I had ever given her ground to expect with me.

She had indeed been advised by some of her relations to secure before marriage some part, at least, of what she had, to be at her own disposal. Which, though perhaps not wholly free from some tincture of self-interest in the proposer, was not in itself the worst of counsel. But the worthiness of her mind, and the sense of the ground on which she received me, would not suffer her to entertain any suspicion of me: and this laid on me the greater obligation, in point of gratitude as well as of justice, to regard and secure to her, which I did.

I had not been long married before I was solicited

by my dear friends Isaac and Mary Penington, and her daughter Guli, to take a journey into Kent and Sussex, to account with their tenants, and overlook their estates in those counties, which before I was married I had had the care of; and accordingly the journey I undertook, though in the depth of winter.

My travels into those parts were the more irksome to me, from the solitariness I underwent, and want of suitable society. For my business lying among the tenants, who were a rustic sort of people, of various persuasions and humours, but not friends, I had little opportunity of conversing with friends; though I contrived to be with them as much as I could, especially on the first day of the week.

But that which made my present journey more heavy to me, was the sorrowful exercise which was newly fallen upon me from my father. He had, upon my first acquainting him with my inclination to marry, and to whom, not only very much approved the match, but voluntarily offered, without my either asking or expecting, to give me a handsome portion at present, with assurance of an addition to it hereafter. And he not only made this offer to me in private, but came down from London into the country on purpose to be better acquainted with my friend, and did there make the same proposal to her; offering also to give security to any friend or relation of hers for the performance; which offer she most generously declined, leaving him as free as she found him. But after we were married, notwithstanding such his promise, he wholly declined the performance of it, under pretence of our not being married by the priest and liturgy. This usage and evil treatment of us thereupon was a great trouble to me; and when I endeavoured to soften him in the matter, he forbid me speaking to him of it any more, and removed his lodging that I might not find him.

The grief I conceived on this occasion, was not for any disappointment to myself, or to my wife; for

neither she nor I had any strict or necessary dependence upon that promise; but my grief was for the cause assigned by him as the ground of it; which was, that our marriage was not by priest or liturgy. And surely hard would it have been for my spirit to bear up under the weight of this exercise, had not the Lord been exceeding gracious to me, and supported me with the inflowings of his love and life, wherewith he visited my soul in my travail: the sense whereof raised in my heart a thankful remembrance of his manifold kindnesses in his former dealings with me. And in the evening, when I came to my inn, while supper was getting ready, I took my pen, and put into words what had in the day revolved in my thoughts. And thus it was:—

#### A SONG OF PRAISE.

THY love, dear Father! and thy tender care,  
 Have in my heart begot a strong desire,  
 To celebrate thy name with praises rare,  
 That others too thy goodness may admire,  
 And learn to yield to what thou dost require.

Many have been the trials of my mind,  
 My exercises great, great my distress  
 Full oft my ruin hath my foe design'd,  
 My sorrows then my pen cannot express,  
 Nor could the best of men afford redress.

When thus beset, to thee I lift mine eye,  
 And with a mournful heart my moan did make:  
 How oft with eyes o'erflowing did I cry,  
 "My God, my God, O do me not forsake!  
 Regard my tears! some pity on me take!"

And to the glory of thy holy name,  
 Eternal God! whom I both love and fear, 47  
 I hereby do declare, I never came  
 Before thy throne, and found thee loath to hear;  
 But always ready with an open ear.

And though sometimes thou seem'st thy face to hide,  
 As one that had withdrawn thy love from me,  
 'Tis that my faith may to the full be tried,  
 And that I thereby may the better see  
 How weak I am, when not upheld by thee.

For underneath thy holy arm I feel,  
 Encompassed with strength as with a wall,  
 That, if the enemy trip up my heel,  
 Thou ready art to save me from a fall.  
 To thee belong thanksgivings over all!

And for my tender love, my God, my king,  
 My heart shall magnify thee all my days,  
 My tongue of thy renown shall daily sing,  
 My pen shall also grateful trophies raise,  
 As monuments to thy eternal praise.

T. E.

*Kent, eleventh month, 1669,*

Having finished my business in Kent, I struck off into Sussex, and finding the enemy endeavouring still more strongly to beset me, I betook myself to the Lord for safety, in whom I knew all help and strength was; and thus poured forth my supplication, directed

### TO THE HOLY ONE.

ETERNAL God! preserver of all those  
 (Without respect of person or degree)  
 Who in thy faithfulness their trust repose,  
 And place their confidence alone in thee;  
 Be thou my succour; for thou know'st that I  
 On thy protection, Lord, alone rely.

Surround me, Father, with thy mighty power;  
 Support me daily by thine holy arm;  
 Preserve me faithful in the evil hour;  
 Stretch forth thine hand to save me from all harm:  
 Be thou my helmet, breast-plate, sword, and shield,  
 And make my foes before thy power yield.



Teach me the spirit'al battle so to fight,  
 That when the enemy shall me beset,  
 Arm'd cap-à-pie with th' armour of thy light,  
 A perfect conquest o'er him I may get ;  
 And with thy battle-axe may cleave the head  
 Of him who bites that part whereon I tread.

Then being from domestic foes set free,  
 The cruelties of men I shall not fear ;  
 But in thy quarrel, Lord, undaunted be,  
 And, for thy sake, the loss of all things bear.  
 Yea, though in dungeon lock'd, with joy will sing  
 An ode of praise to thee, my God, my King.

T. E.

*Sussex, eleventh month, 1669.*

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As soon as I had dispatched the business I went about, I returned home without delay ; and to my great comfort found my wife well, and myself very welcome to her ; both which I esteemed as great favours.

Towards the latter part of the summer following, I went into Kent again, and in my passage through London, received the unwelcome news of the loss of a very hopeful youth, who had formerly been under my care for education. It was Isaac Penington, the second son of my worthy friends Isaac and Mary Penington, a child of excellent natural parts, whose great abilities bespoke him likely to be a great man had he lived to be a man. He was designed to be bred up a merchant, and before he was thought ripe enough to be entered thereunto, his parents, at somebody's request, gave leave that he might go a voyage to Barbadoes, only to spend a little time, see the place, and be somewhat acquainted with the sea, under the care and conduct of a choice friend and sailor, John Grove, of London, who was master of a vessel, and traded to that island ; and a little venture he had with him, made up by divers of his friends, and by me among

the rest. He made the voyage thither very well, found the watery element agreeable, had his health there, liked the place, was much pleased with his entertainment there, and was returning home with his little cargo, in return for the goods he carried out ; when on a sudden, through weariness, he dropped overboard, and the vessel being under sail with a brisk gale, was irrecoverably lost, notwithstanding the utmost labour, care, and diligence of the master and sailors to save him.

This unhappy accident took from the afflicted master all the pleasure of his voyage, and he mourned for the loss of this youth as if he had been his own, yea, only son ; for as he was in himself a man of a worthy mind, so the boy, by his witty and handsome behaviour in general, and obsequious carriage towards him in particular, had very much wrought himself into his favour.

As for me, I thought it one of the sharpest strokes I had met with ; for I both loved the child very well, and had conceived great hopes of general good from him ; and it pierced me the deeper, to think how deeply it would pierce his afflicted parents.

Sorrow for this disaster was my companion in this journey, and I travelled the roads under great exercise of mind, revolving in my thoughts the manifold accidents which the life of man is attended with, and subject to, and the great uncertainty of all human things ; I could find no centre, no firm basis for the mind of man to fix upon, but the divine power and will of the Almighty. This consideration wrought in my spirit a sort of contempt of what supposed happiness or pleasure this world, or the things that are in and of it, can of themselves yield, and raised my contemplation higher ; which, as it ripened and came to some degree of digestion, I breathed forth in mournful accents, thus :—

## SOLITARY THOUGHTS

ON THE UNCERTAINTY OF HUMAN THINGS, OCCASIONED  
BY THE SUDDEN LOSS OF A HOPEFUL YOUTH.

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Transibunt cito, quæ vos mansura putatis.  
Those things soon will pass away,  
Which ye think will always stay.

---

WHAT ground alas ! has any man  
To set his heart on things below,  
Which, when they seem most like to stand,  
Fly like an arrow from a bow !  
Things subject to exterior sense  
Are to mutation most propense.

If stately houses we erect  
And therein think to take delight,  
On what a sudden are we check'd  
And all our hopes made groundless quite !  
One little spark in ashes lays  
What we were building half our days.

If on estate an eye we cast,  
And pleasure there expect to find,  
A secret providential blast  
Gives disappointment to our mind.  
Who now's on top, ere long may feel  
The circling motion of the wheel.

If we our tender babes embrace,  
And comfort hope in them to have,  
Alas, in what a little space  
Is hope, with them, laid in the grave !  
Whatever promiseth content  
Is in a moment from us rent.

This world cannot afford a thing  
Which, to a well-composed mind,  
Can any lasting pleasure bring,  
But in its womb its grave will find.  
All things unto their centre tend ;  
What had \*beginning will have end.

\* Understand this of natural things.

But is there nothing then that's sure,  
 For man to fix his heart upon?  
 Nothing that always will endure,  
 When all these transient things are gone?  
 Sad state! where man, with grief oppress,  
 Finds nought whereon his mind may rest.

O yes! there is a God above,  
 Who unto men is also nigh,  
 On whose unalterable love  
 We may with confidence rely,  
 No disappointment can befall  
 Us, having him that's all in all.

If unto him we faithful be,  
 It is impossible to miss  
 Of whatsoever he shall see  
 Conducible unto our bliss  
 What can of pleasure him prevent,  
 Who hath the fountain of content?

In him alone if we delight,  
 And in his precepts pleasure take,  
 We shall be sure to do aright:  
 'Tis not his nature to forsake.  
 A proper object he alone,  
 For man to set his heart upon.

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Domino mens nixa quieta est.

The mind which upon God is stay'd,  
 Shall with no trouble be dismay'd.

T. E.

*Kent, the 4th of seventh month, 1670.*

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A copy of the foregoing lines, inclosed in a letter of condolence, I sent by the first post into Buckinghamshire, to my dear friends the afflicted parents; and upon my return home, going to visit them, we sat down, and solemnly mixed our sorrows and tears together.

About this time (as I remember) it was that some bickerings happening between some Baptists and some of the people called Quakers, in or about High Wycombe, in Buckinghamshire, occasioned by some reflecting words a Baptist preacher had publicly uttered in one of their meetings there against the Quakers in general, and William Penn in particular, it came at length to this issue, that a meeting for a public dispute was appointed to be holden at West Wycombe, between Jeremy Ives, who espoused his brother's cause, and William Penn. To this meeting, it being so near me, I went, rather to countenance the cause than for any delight I took in such work; for indeed I have rarely found the advantage equivalent to the trouble and danger arising from those contests: for which cause I would not choose them, as being justly engaged, I would not refuse them.

The issue of this proved better than I expected. For Ives having undertaken an ill cause, to argue against the divine light and universal grace conferred by God on all men; when he had spent his stock of arguments, which he brought with him on that subject, finding his work go on heavily, and the auditory not well satisfied, stepped down from his seat and departed, with purpose to break up the assembly. But, except some few of his party who followed him, the people generally staid, and were the more attentive to what was afterwards delivered amongst them; which Ives understanding, came in again, and, in an angry railing manner expressing his dislike that we went not away when he did, gave more disgust to the people.

After the meeting was ended, I sent to my friend Isaac Penington (by his son and servant, who returned home, though it was late, that evening) a short account of the business, in the following distich:—

Prævaluit VERITAS: inimici terga dedere:  
Nos sumus in tuto. Laus tribuenda Deo.

Which may be thus Englished :

Truth hath prevail'd : the enemies did fly  
We are in safety. Praise to God on high

But both they and we had quickly other work found us : it soon became a stormy time. The clouds had been long gathering, and threatened a tempest. The parliament had sat some time before, and hatched that unaccountable law, which was called the Conventicle Act : if that may be allowed to be called a law, by whomsoever made, which was so directly contrary to the fundamental laws of England, to common justice, equity, and right reason, as this manifestly was. For,

First.—It brake down and over-ran the bounds and banks anciently set for the defence and security of Englishmen's lives, liberties, and properties, viz. trial by juries :—instead thereof, directing and authorizing justices of the peace (and that too privately out of sessions) to convict, fine, and, by their warrants, distrain upon offenders against it ; directly contrary to the Great Charter.

Secondly.—By that act the informers, who swear for their own advantage, as being thereby intitled to a third part of the fines, were many times concealed, driving on an underhand private trade ; so that men might be, and often were, convicted and fined, without having any notice or knowledge of it, till the officers came and took away their goods ; nor even then could they tell by whose evidence they were convicted. Than which what could be more opposite to common justice, which requires that every man should be openly charged, and have his accuser face to face, that he may both answer for himself before he be convicted, and object to the validity of the evidence given against him !

Thirdly.—By that act, the innocent were punished for the offences of the guilty. If the wife or child was convicted of having been at one of those assem-

blies, which by that act was adjudged unlawful, the fine was levied on the goods of the husband or father of such wife or child, though he was neither present at such assembly, nor was of the same religious persuasion that they were of, but perhaps an enemy to it.

Fourthly.—It was left in the arbitrary pleasure of the justices, to lay half the fine for the house or ground where such assembly was holden, and half the fine for a pretended unknown preacher; and the whole fines of such and so many of the meeters as they should account poor, upon any other or others of the people who were present at the same meeting (not exceeding a certain limited sum), without any regard to equity or reason. And yet, such blindness doth the spirit of persecution bring on men otherwise sharp-sighted enough, that this unlawful, unjust, unequal, unreasonable, and unrighteous law, took place in almost all places, and was vigorously prosecuted against the meetings of dissenters in general, though the brunt of the storm fell most sharply on the people called Quakers; not that it seemed to be more particularly levelled at them, but that they stood more fair, steady, and open, as a butt to receive all the shot that came, while some others found means and freedom to retire to coverts for shelter.

No sooner had the bishops obtained this law for suppressing all meetings but their own, than some of the clergy of most ranks, and some others too, who were overmuch bigoted to that party, bestirred themselves with might and main to find out and encourage the most profligate wretches to turn informers, and to get such persons into parochial offices as would be most obsequious to their commands, and ready at their beck, to put it into the most rigorous execution. Yet it took not alike in all places; but some were forwarder in the work than others, according as the agents intended to be chiefly employed therein had been predisposed thereunto.

For in some parts of the nation care had been timely taken, by some not of the lowest rank, to choose out some particular persons, men of sharp wit, close countenances, pliant tempers, and deep dissimulation, and send them forth among the secretaries, so called, with instructions to thrust themselves into all societies, conform to all or any sort of religious profession, Proteus-like, change their shapes, and transform themselves from one religious appearance to another; as occasion should require; in a word, to be all things to all; not that they might win some, but that they might, if possible, ruin all, at least many.

The drift of this design was, that they who employed them might, by this means, get a full account of what number of dissenters' meetings, of every sort, there were in each county, and where kept; what number of persons frequented them, and of what ranks; who amongst them were persons of estate, and where they lived; that when they should afterwards have troubled the waters, they might the better know where with most advantage to cast their nets.

He of these emissaries whose post was assigned him in this county of Bucks, adventured to thrust himself upon a friend, under the counterfeit appearance of a Quaker; but being by the friend suspected, and thereupon dismissed unentertained, he was forced to betake himself to an inn or alehouse for accommodation. Long he had not been there, ere his unruly nature, not to be long kept under by the curb of a feigned sobriety, broke forth into open profaneness; so true is that aphorism of the poet—

Naturam expellas furca licet, usque recurret.

To fuddling now falls he with those whom he found tippling there before; and who but he amongst them! In him was then made good the proverb, *in vino veritas*; for in his cups he out with that which was no doubt to have been kept a secret. 'Twas to



his pot companions that, after his head was somewhat heated with strong liquors, he discovered that he was sent forth by Dr Mew, the then vice-chancellor of Oxford, on the design before related, and under the protection of justice Morton, a warrant under whose hand and seal he there produced.

Sensible of his error too late, when sleep had restored him to some degree of sense, and discouraged with this ill success of his attempt upon the Quakers, he quickly left that place, and crossing through the country, cast himself among the Baptists at a meeting which they held in a private place; of which the over-easy credulity of some that went among them, with whom he had craftily insinuated himself, had given him notice. The entertainment he found amongst them deserved a better return than he made them; for, having smoothly wrought himself into their good opinion, and cunningly drawn some of them into an unwary openness and freedom of conversation with him, upon the displeasing subject of the severity of those times, he most villanously impeached one of them, whose name was Headach, a man well reputed amongst his neighbours, of having spoken treasonable words; and thereby brought the man in danger of losing both his estate and life, had not a seasonable discovery of his abominable practices elsewhere (imprinting terror, the effect of guilt, upon him) caused him to fly both out of the court and country, at that very instant of time when the honest man stood at the bar, ready to be arraigned upon his false accusation.

This his false charge against that Baptist, left him no further room to play the hypocrite in those parts. Off therefore go his cloak and vizard. And now he openly appears in his proper colours, to disturb the assemblies of God's people; which was indeed the very end for which the design at first was laid. But because the law provided that a conviction must be grounded upon the oaths of two witnesses, it was

needful for him, in order to the carrying on his intended mischief, to find out an associate who might be both sordid enough for such an employment, and vicious enough to be his companion. This was not an easy task; yet he found out one who had already given an experiment of his readiness to take other men's goods; being not long before released out of Aylesbury gaol, where he very narrowly escaped the gallows for having stolen a cow.

The names of these fellows being yet unknown in that part of the country where they began their work, the former, by the general voice of the country, was called the Trepan; the latter, the informer, and from the colour of his hair, Red-head. But in a little time the Trepan called himself John Poulter, adding withal, that judge Morton used to call him "John for the king;" and that the archbishop of Canterbury had given him a deaconry. That his name was indeed John Poulter, and the reputed son of one — Poulter, a butcher in Salisbury, and that he had long since been there branded for a fellow egregiously wicked and debauched, we were assured by the testimony of a young man then living in Amersham, who both was his countryman, and had known him in Salisbury, as well as by a letter from an inhabitant of that place, to whom his course of life had been well known. His comrade, who for some time was only called the informer, was named Ralph Lacy, of Risborough, and surnamed the cow-stealer.

These agreed between themselves where to make their first onset, which was to be, and was, on the meeting of the people called Quakers, then holden at the house of William Russell, called Jourdan's, in the parish of Giles Chalfont, in the county of Bucks; that which was wanting to their accommodation was a place of harbour; for assistance wherein recourse was had to parson Phillips, none being so ready, none so willing, none so able to help them as he. A friend he had in a corner, a widow woman, not long before

one of his parishioners; her name was Anne Dell, and at that time she lived at a farm called White's, a by-place, in the parish of Beaconsfield, whither she removed from Hitchindon. To her these fellows were recommended by her old friend the parson. She with all readiness received them; her house was at all times open to them; what she had was at their command. Two sons she had at home with her, both at man's estate. The younger son, whose name was John Dell, listed himself in the service of his mother's new guests to attend on them as their guide, and to inform them (who were too much strangers to pretend to know the names of any of the persons there) whom they should inform against.

Thus consorted, thus in a triple league confederated, on the 24th day of the fifth month, commonly called July, in the year 1670, they appeared openly, and began to act their intended tragedy upon the Quaker's meeting at the place aforesaid, to which I belonged, and at which I was present. Here the chief actor, Poulter, behaved himself with such impetuous violence and brutish rudeness, as gave occasion for enquiry who or what he was. And being soon discovered to be the Trepan, so infamous and abhorred by all sober people, and afterwards daily detected of gross impieties, and the felonious taking of certain goods from one of Brainford, whom he also cheated of money—these things raising an outcry in the country upon him, made him consult his own safety; and, leaving his part to be acted by others, he quitted the country as soon as he could.

He being gone, Satan soon supplied his place, by sending one Richard Aris, a broken ironmonger of Wycombe, to join with Lacy in this service, prompted thereto in hopes that he might thereby repair his broken fortune. Of this new adventurer this single character may serve, whereby the reader may make judgment of him, as of the lion by his paw,—that at the sessions holden at Wycombe, in October then

last past, he was openly accused of having enticed one Harding of the same town, to be his companion and associate in robbing on the highway; and proof offered to be made that he had made bullets in order to that service; which charge Harding himself, whom he had endeavoured to draw into that heinous wickedness, was ready in court to prove upon oath, had not the prosecution been discountenanced and smothered.

Lacy, the cow-stealer, having thus got Aris, the intended highwayman, to be his comrade, they came on the 21st of the month called August, 1670, to the meeting of the people called Quakers, where Lacy, with Poulter, had been a month before; and taking for granted that the same who had been there before were there then, they went to a justice of the peace, called sir Thomas Clayton, and swore at all adventure against one Thomas Zachary and his wife, whom Lacy understood to have been there the month before, that they were then present in that meeting: whereas neither the said Thomas Zachary nor his wife were at that meeting, but were both of them at London, above twenty miles distant, all that day, having been there some time before and after. Which notwithstanding, upon this false oath of these false men, the justice laid fines upon the said Thomas Zachary of ten pounds for his own offence, ten pounds for his wife's, and ten pounds for the offence of a pretended preacher, though indeed there was not any that preached at that meeting that day; and issued forth his warrant to the officers of Beaconsfield, where Thomas Zachary dwelt, for the levying of the same upon his goods.

I mention these things thus particularly, though not an immediate suffering of my own, because, in the consequence thereof, it occasioned no small trouble and exercise to me. For when Thomas Zachary, returning home from London, understanding what had been done against him, and advising what to do, was informed by a neighbouring attorney that his remedy lay in appealing from the judgment of the

convicting justice to the general quarter sessions, he thereupon ordering the said attorney to draw up his appeal in form of law, went himself with it and tendered it to the justice. But the justice being a man neither well principled nor well natured, and uneasy that he should lose the advantage, both of the present conviction and future service of such (in his judgment) useful men as those two bold informers were likely to be, fell sharply upon Thomas Zachary, charging him that he suffered justly, and that his suffering was not on a religious account.

This rough and unjust dealing engaged the good man to enter into further discourse with the justice, in defence of his own innocency. From which discourse the insidious justice, taking offence at some expression of his, charged him with saying, "The righteous are oppressed, and the wicked go unpunished." Which the justice interpreting to be a reflection on the government, and calling it a high misdemeanour, required sureties of the good man to answer it at the next quarter sessions, and in the mean time to be bound to his good behaviour. But he well knowing himself to be innocent of having broken any law, or done in this matter any evil, could not answer the justice's unjust demand, and therefore was sent forthwith a prisoner to the county gaol.

By this severity it was thought the justice designed not only to wreak his displeasure on this good man, but to prevent the further prosecution of his appeal; whereby he should at once both oppress the righteous, by the levying of the fines unduly imposed upon him; and secure the informers from a conviction of wilful perjury, and the punishment due therefore; that so they might go on without controul in the wicked work they were engaged in. But so great wickedness was not to be suffered to go unpunished, or at least undiscovered. Wherefore, although no way could be found at present to get the good man released from his unjust imprisonment, yet, that his restraint might not

hinder the prosecution of his appeal, on which the detection of the informers' villany depended, consideration being had thereof amongst some friends, the management of the prosecution was committed to my care, who was thought, with respect at least to leisure and disengagement from other business, most fit to attend it; and very willingly I undertook it.

Wherefore at the next general quarter sessions of the peace, holden at High Wycombe, in October following, I took care that four substantial witnesses, citizens of unquestionable credit, should come down from London, in a coach and four horses hired on purpose. These gave so punctual and full evidence, that Thomas Zachary and his wife were in London all that day, whereon the informers had sworn them to have been at an unlawful meeting, at a place more than twenty miles distant from London; that, notwithstanding what endeavours were used to the contrary, the jury found them not guilty. Whereupon the money deposited for the fines at the entering of the appeal, ought to have been returned, and so was ten pounds of it; but the rest of the money being in the hand of the clerk of the peace, whose name was Wells, could never be got out again.

Thomas Zachary himself was brought from Aylesbury gaol to Wycombe to receive his trial, and though no evil could be charged upon him, yet justice Clayton, who at first committed him, displeased to see the appeal prosecuted, and the conviction he had made set aside, by importunity prevailed with the bench to remand him to prison again, there to lie until another sessions.

While this was doing I got an indictment drawn up against the informers Aris and Lacy, for wilful perjury, and caused it to be delivered to the grand jury, who found the bill. And although the court adjourned from the town-hall to the chamber<sup>r</sup> at their inn, in favour as it was thought to the informers, on supposition we would not pursue them thither, yet thither

they were pursued; and there being two counsel present from Windsor, the name of the one Starky, and of the other, as I remember, Forster, the former of whom I had before retained upon the trial of the appeal; I now retained them both, and sent them into court again, to prosecute the informers upon this indictment; which they did so smartly, that the informers being present, as not suspecting any such sudden danger, were of necessity called to the bar, and arraigned; and having pleaded 'not guilty,' were forced to enter a traverse to avoid a present commitment: all the favour the court could show them being to take them bail one for the other, though probably both not worth a groat; else they must have gone to gaol for want of bail, which would have put them beside their business, spoiled the informing trade, and broke the design; whereas now they were turned lose again, to do what mischief they could until the next sessions.

Accordingly they did what they could, and yet could make little or no earnings at it; for this little step of prosecution had made them so known, and their late apparent perjury had made them so detestable, that even the common sort of bad men shunned them, and would not willingly yield them any assistance.

The next quarter sessions was holden at Aylesbury, whither we were fain to bring down our witnesses again from London, in like manner, and at like charge at the least, as before. And though I met with great discouragements in the prosecution, yet I followed it so vigorously, that I got a verdict against the informers for wilful perjury; and had forthwith taken them up, had not they forthwith fled from justice and hid themselves. However I moved by my attorney for an order of court, directed to all mayors, bailiffs, high constables, petty constables, and other inferior officers of the peace, to arrest and take them up, wherever they should be found within the county of Bucks, and bring them to the county gaol.

The report of this so terrified them, that of all things dreading the misery of lying in a gaol, out of which they could not hope for deliverance, otherwise than by at least the loss of their ears; they, hopeless now of carrying on their informing trade, disjoined, and one of them, Aris, fled the country; so that he appeared no more in this country. The other, Lacy, lurked privily for a while in woods and by-places, till hunger and want forced him out; and then casting himself upon a hazardous adventure, which yet was the best, and proved to him the best course he could have taken, he went directly to the gaol where he knew the innocent man suffered imprisonment by his means, and for his sake; where asking for and being brought to Thomas Zachary, he cast himself on his knees at his feet; and with appearance of sorrow confessing his fault, did so earnestly beg for forgiveness, that he wrought upon the tender nature of that very good man, not only to put him in hopes of mercy, but to be his advocate by letter to me, to mitigate at least, if not wholly to remit, the prosecution. To which I so far only consented, as to let him know, I would suspend the execution of the warrant upon him according as he behaved himself, or until he gave fresh provocation: at which message the fellow was so overjoyed that, relying with confidence thereon, he returned openly to his family and labour, and applied himself to business, as his neighbours observed and reported, with greater diligence and industry than he had ever done before.

Thus began and thus ended the informing trade in these parts of the county of Bucks; the ill success that these informers found discouraging all others, how vile soever, from attempting the like enterprize there ever after. And though it cost some money to carry on the prosecution, and some pains too, yet for every shilling so spent, a pound probably might be saved, of what in all likelihood would have been lost, by the spoil and havoc that might have been made by distresses taken on their informations.



But so angry was the convicting justice (whatever others of the same rank were) at this prosecution, and the loss thereby of the service of those *honest men*, the perjured informers, (for I heard an attorney, one Hitchcock of Aylesbury, who was their advocate in court, say, that a great lord, a peer of the realm, called them so in a letter directed to him, whereby he recommended to him the care and defence of them and their cause) that he prevailed to have the oath of allegiance tendered in court to Thomas Zachary, which he knew he would not take, because he could not take any oath at all; by which snare he was kept in prison a long time after, and, so far as I remember, until a general pardon released him.

But though it pleased the Divine Providence, who sometimes vouchsafed to bring good out of evil, to put a stop, in a great measure at least, to the persecution here begun; yet in other parts both of the city and country, it was carried on with great severity and rigour; the worst of men, for the most part, being set up for informers; the worst of magistrates encouraging and abetting them; and the worst of the priests, who first began to blow the fire, now seeing how it took, spread, and blazed, clapping their hands, and hallooing them on to this evil work.

The sense whereof, as it deeply affected my heart with a sympathising pity for the oppressed sufferers, so it raised in my spirit a holy disdain and contempt of that spirit and its agent, by which this ungodly work was stirred up and carried on. Which at length brake forth in an expostulatory poem, under the title of 'Gigantomachia,' (the Wars of the Giants against Heaven,) not without some allusion to the second Psalm, thus:—

WHY do the heathen in a brutish rage,  
 Themselves against the Lord of hosts engage?  
 Why do the frantic people entertain,  
 Their thoughts upon a thing that is so vain?

Why do the kings themselves together set ?  
 And why do all the princes them abet ?  
 Why do the rulers to each other speak  
 After this foolish manner : " Let us break  
 Their bands asunder ! Come, let us make haste,  
 With joint consent, their cords from us to cast."  
 Why do they thus join hands and counsel take  
 Against the Lord's anointed ? This will make  
 Him doubtless laugh, who doth in heaven sit ;  
 The Lord will have them in contempt for it.  
 His sore displeasure on them he will wreak,  
 And in his wrath will he unto them speak.  
 For on his holy hill of Sion, he  
 His King hath set to reign. Sceptres must be  
 Cast down before him ; diadems must lie  
 At foot of him who sits in majesty,  
 Upon his throne of glory ; whence he will  
 Send forth his fiery ministers to kill  
 All those his enemies, who would not be  
 Subject to his supreme authority.

Where then will ye appear, who are so far  
 From being subjects, that ye rebels are  
 Against his holy government, and strive  
 Others from their allegiance too to drive ?  
 What earthly prince such an affront would bear  
 From any of his subjects, should they dare  
 So to encroach on his prerogative ?  
 Which of them would permit that man to live ?  
 What should it be adjudged but treason ? And  
 Death he must suffer for it out of hand.  
 And shall the King of Kings such treason see  
 Acted against him, and the traitors be  
 Acquitted ? No, vengeance is his ; and they  
 That him provoke, shall know he will repay.

And of a truth, provoked he hath been,  
 In an high manner by this daring sin  
 Of usurpation and of tyranny  
 Over men's consciences, which should be free  
 To serve the living God as he requires,  
 And as his holy spirit them inspires ;  
 For conscience is an inward thing, and none  
 Can govern that aright but God alone.  
 Nor can a well informed conscience lower

Her sails to any temporary power,  
 Or bow to men's decrees; for that would be  
 Treason in a superlative degree;  
 For God alone can laws to conscience give,  
 And that's a badge of his prerogative.

This is the controversy of this day,  
 Between the holy God and sinful clay.  
 God hath throughout the earth proclaim'd, that he  
 Will over conscience hold the sovereignty,  
 That he the kingdom to himself will take,  
 And in man's heart his residence will make;  
 From whence his subjects shall such laws receive,  
 As please his Royal Majesty to give.

Man heeds not this; but most audaciously  
 Says, "Unto me belongs supremacy;  
 And all men's consciences within my land,  
 Ought to be subject unto my command."

God, by his holy spirit, doth direct  
 His people how to worship; and expect  
 Obedience from them. Man says, "I ordain,  
 That none shall worship in that way on pain  
 Of prison, confiscation, banishment,  
 Or being to the stake or gallows sent."

God out of Babylon doth people call,  
 Commands them to forsake her ways, and all  
 Her several sorts of worship, to deny  
 Her whole religion as idolatry.

Will man thus his usurped power forego,  
 And lose his ill-got government? O no!  
 But out comes his enacted be't, "That all  
 Who when the organs play, will not down fall  
 Before this golden image, and adore  
 What I have caused to be set up, therefore  
 Into the fiery furnace shall be cast,  
 And be consumed with a flaming blast.  
 Or, in the mildest terms, conform or pay  
 So much a month, or so much every day,  
 Which we will levy on you, by distress,  
 Sparing nor widow nor the fatherless:  
 And if you have not what will satisfy,  
 You're like in prison during life to lie."  
 Christ says, *Swear not*; but man says, "Swear, or lie  
 In prison, premunired, until you die."

Man's ways are, in a word, as opposite  
 To God's as midnight darkness is to light;  
 And yet fond man doth strive with might and main,  
 By penal laws, God's people to constrain  
 To worship what, when, where, how he thinks fit,  
 And to whatever he enjoins submit.

What will the issue of this contest be?  
 Which must give place—the Lord's, or man's decree?  
 Will man be in the day of battle found  
 Able to keep the field, maintain his ground,  
 Against the mighty God? No more than can  
 The lightest chaff before the winnowing fan;  
 No more than straw could stand before the flame,  
 Or smallest atoms, when a whirlwind came.

The Lord, who in creation only said,  
 "Let us make man," and forthwith man was made,  
 Can in a moment, by one blast of breath,  
 Strike all mankind with an eternal death.  
 How soon can God all man's devices quash,  
 And, with his iron rod, in pieces dash  
 Him, like a potter's vessel! None can stand  
 Against the mighty power of his hand.

Be therefore wise, ye kings, instructed be,  
 Ye rulers of the earth, and henceforth see  
 Ye serve the Lord in fear, and stand in awe  
 Of sinning any more against his law,  
 His royal law of liberty; to do  
 To others as you'd have them do to you.  
 O stoop, ye mighty monarchs, and let none  
 Reject his government, but kiss the Son,  
 While's wrath is but little kindled; lest  
 His anger burn, and you have transgressed  
 His law so oft, and would not him obey,  
 Eternally should perish from the way;  
 The way of God's salvation, where the just  
 Are bless'd, who in the Lord do put their trust.

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Fælix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

Happy's he  
 Whom others' harms do wary make to be.

As the unreasonable rage and furious violence of the persecutors had drawn the former expostulation from me, so in a while after, my heart being deeply affected with a sense of the great loving-kindness and tender goodness of the Lord to his people, in bearing up their spirits in their greatest exercises, and preserving them through the sharpest trials, in a faithful testimony to his blessed truth, and opening in due time a door of deliverance to them; I could not forbear to celebrate his praises in the following lines, under the title of

**A SONG OF THE MERCIES AND DELIVERANCES  
OF THE LORD.**

HAD not the Lord been on our side,  
 May Israel now say,  
 We were not able to abide  
 The trials of that day:

When men did up against us rise,  
 With fury, rage, and spite,  
 Hoping to catch us by surprise,  
 Or run us down by might,

Then had not God for us arose,  
 And shown his mighty power,  
 We had been swallow'd by our foes,  
 Who waited to devour.

When the joint powers of death and hell  
 Against us did combine,  
 And with united forces fell  
 Upon us, with design

To root us out; then had not God  
 Appear'd to take our part,  
 And them chastised with his rod,  
 And made them feel the smart,

We then had overwhelmed been  
 And trodden in the mire;  
 Our enemies on us had seen  
 Their cruel hearts' desire.

When stoned, when stock'd, when rudely stript—  
 Some to the waist have been,  
 (Without regard of sex) and whipt,  
 Until the blood did spin:

Yea, when their skins with stripes look'd black,  
 Their flesh to jelly beat,  
 Enough to make their sinews crack,  
 The lashes were so great;

Then, had not God been with them to  
 Support them, they had died;  
 His power it was that bore them through;  
 Nothing could do't beside.

When into prisons we were throng'd  
 (Where pestilence was rife)  
 By bloody-minded men, that long'd  
 To take away our life;

Then, had not God been with us, we  
 Had perish'd there, no doubt,  
 'Twas he preserv'd us there, and he  
 It was that brought us out.

When sentenced to banishment  
 Inhumanly we were,  
 To be from native country sent,  
 From all that men call dear:

Then had not God been pleas'd t' appear,  
 And take our cause in hand,  
 And struck them with a panic fear,  
 Which put them to a stand:

Nay, had he not great judgments sent,  
 And compass'd them about,  
 They were at that time fully bent  
 To root us wholly out.

Had he not gone with them that went,  
 The seas had been their graves,  
 Or, when they came where they were sent,  
 They had been sold for slaves.

But God was pleas'd still to give  
 Them favour where they came,  
 And in his truth they yet do live,  
 To praise his holy name.

And now afresh do men contrive  
 Another wicked way,  
 Of our estates us to deprive,  
 And take our goods away.

But will the Lord (who to this day,  
 Our part did always take)  
 Now leave us to be made a prey,  
 And that too for his sake ?

Can any one, who calls to mind  
 Deliverances past,  
 Discouraged be at what's behind,  
 And murmur now at last ?

Oh that no unbelieving heart  
 Among us may be found,  
 That from the Lord would now depart,  
 And, coward-like, give ground !

For, without doubt, the God we serve  
 Will still our cause defend,  
 If we from him do never swerve,  
 .But trust him to the end.

What if our goods by violence  
 From us be torn, and we,  
 Of all things but our innocence,  
 Should wholly stripped be,

Would this be more than did befall  
 Good Job ? Nay sure, much less ;  
 He lost estate, children, and all,  
 Yet he the Lord did bless.

But did not God his stock augment  
 Double what 'twas before ?  
 And this was writ to the intent,  
 That we should hope the more.

View but the lilies of the field,  
 That neither knit nor spin,  
 Who is it that to them doth yield  
 The robes they're decked in ?

Doth not the Lord the ravens feed,  
 And for the sparrows care ?  
 And will not he for his own seed,  
 All needful things prepare ?

The lions shall sharp hunger bear,  
 And pine for lack of food,  
 But who the Lord do truly fear,  
 Shall nothing want that's good.

Oh ! which of us can now diffide  
 That God will us defend,  
 Who hath been always on our side,  
 And will be to the end.

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*Spes confisa Deo nunquam confusa recedet.*

Hope, which on God is firmly grounded,  
 Will never fail, nor be confounded.

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Scarce was the before-mentioned storm of outward persecution from the government blown over, when Satan raised another storm of another kind against us on this occasion. The foregoing storm of persecution, as it lasted long, so in many parts of the nation, and particularly at London, it fell very sharp and violent, especially on the Quakers. For they having no refuge but God alone to fly unto, could not dodge and shift to avoid the suffering, as others of other denominations could, and in their worldly wisdom and policy did; altering their meetings with respect both to place and time, and forbearing to meet when forbidden, or kept out of their meeting-houses. So that of the several sorts of dissenters, the Quakers only held up public testimony, as a standard or ensign of religion, by keeping their meetings duly and fully, at the accustomed times and places, so long as they were suffered to enjoy the use of their meeting-houses; and when they were shut up, and friends kept out of them by force, they assembled in the streets, as near to their meeting-houses as they could.

This bold and truly Christian behaviour in the Quakers disturbed and not a little displeased the persecutors, who fretting, complained that the stubborn



Quakers brake their strength, and bore off the blow from those other dissenters, whom as they most feared, so they principally aimed at. For indeed the Quakers they rather despised than feared, as being a people from whose peaceable principles and practices they held themselves secure from danger; whereas having suffered severely, and that lately too, by and under the other dissenters, they thought they had just cause to be apprehensive of danger from them, and good reason to suppress them.

On the other hand, the more ingenious amongst other dissenters of each denomination, sensible of the ease they enjoyed by our bold and steady suffering, which abated the heat of the persecutors, and blunted the edge of the sword before it came to them, frankly acknowledged the benefit received; calling us the bulwark that kept off the force of the stroke from them; and praying that we might be preserved, and enabled to break the strength of the enemy; nor could some of them forbear, those especially who were called Baptists, to express their kind and favourable opinion of us, and of the principles we professed, which emboldened us to go through that, which but to hear of was a terror to them.

This their good-will raised ill-will against us in some of their teachers, who, though willing to reap the advantage of a shelter, by a retreat behind us during the time that the storm lasted; yet partly through an evil emulation, partly through fear lest they should lose some of those members of their society, who had discovered such favourable thoughts of our principles and us, they set themselves, as soon as the storm was over, to represent us in as ugly a dress, and in as frightful a figure to the world as they could invent and put upon us. In order whereunto, one Thomas Hicks, a preacher among the Baptists at London, took upon him to write several pamphlets successively, under the title of 'A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker;' which were so craftily con-

trived, that the unwary reader might conclude them to be not merely fictions, but real discourses, actually held between one of the people called Quakers and some other person. In these feigned dialogues, Hicks, having no regard to justice or common honesty, had made his counterfeit Quaker say whatsoever he thought would render him, one while sufficiently erroneous, another while ridiculous enough; forging, in the Quaker's name, some things so abominably false, other things so intolerably foolish, as could not reasonably be supposed to have come into the conceit, much less to have dropped from the lip or pen of any that went under the name of a Quaker.

These dialogues (shall I call them, or rather *diabologues*) were answered by our friend William Penn, in two books; the first being entitled 'Reason against Railing,' the other 'The Counterfeit Christian detected;' in which Hicks being charged with manifest as well as manifold forgeries, perversions, downright lies and slanders against the people called Quakers in general, William Penn, George Whitehead, and divers others by name; complaint was made, by way of appeal, to the Baptists in and about London, for justice against Thomas Hicks.

Those Baptists, who it seems were in the plot with Hicks, to defame at any rate, right or wrong, the people called Quakers, taking the advantage of the absence of William Penn and George Whitehead, who were the persons most immediately concerned, and who were then gone a long journey on the service of truth, to be absent from the city, in all probability for a considerable time, appointed a public meeting in one of their meeting-houses, under pretence of calling Thomas Hicks to account, and hearing the charge made good against him; but with design to give the greater stroke to the Quakers, when they, who should make good the charge against Hicks, could not be present. For upon their sending notice to the lodgings of William Penn and George Whitehead of their

intended meeting, they were told by several friends that both William Penn and George Whitehead were from home, travelling in the counties, uncertain where; and therefore could not be informed of their intended meeting, either by letter or express, within the time by them limited; for which reason they were desired to defer the meeting till they could have notice of it, and time to return, that they might be at it. But these Baptists, whose design was otherwise laid, would not be prevailed with to defer the meeting, but glad of the advantage, gave their brother Hicks opportunity to make a colourable defence, where he had his party to help him, and none to oppose him; and having made a mock show of examining him and his works of darkness, they, in fine, having heard one side, acquitted him.

This gave just occasion for a new complaint and demand of justice against him and them. For as soon as William Penn returned to London, he in print exhibited his complaint of this unfair dealing, and demanded justice, by a rehearing of the matter in a public meeting, to be appointed by joint agreement. This went hardly down with the Baptists, nor could it be obtained from them without great importunity and hard pressing. At length, after many delays and tricks used to shift it off, constrained by necessity, they yielded to have a meeting at their own meeting-house in Barbican, London.

There, amongst other friends, was I, and undertook to read our charge there against Thomas Hicks, which not without much difficulty I did; they, inasmuch as the house was theirs, putting all the inconveniences they could upon us. The particular passages and management of this meeting, (as also of that other which followed soon after, and which, on their refusing to give us any other public meeting, we were fain to appoint in our own meeting-house, by Wheeler street, near Spitalfields, London, and gave them timely notice,) I forbear here to mention; there being in print a narra-

tive of each, to which, for particular information, I refer the reader.

But to this meeting Thomas Hicks would not come, but lodged himself at an alehouse hard by; yet sent his brother Ives, with some others of the party, by clamorous noises to divert us from the prosecution of our charge against him; which they so effectually performed, that they would not suffer the charge to be heard, though often attempted to be read.

As this rude behaviour of theirs was a cause of grief to me, so afterwards, when I understood that they used all evasive tricks to avoid another meeting with us, and refused to do us right, my spirit was greatly stirred at their injustice, and in the sense thereof, willing, if possible, to provoke them to more fair and manly dealing, I let fly a broadside at them, in a single sheet of paper, under the title of 'A Fresh Pursuit:' in which, having re-stated the controversy between them and us, and reinforced our charge of forgery, &c. against Thomas Hicks and his abettors, I offered a fair challenge to them (not only to Thomas Hicks himself, but to all those his compurgators who had before undertaken to acquit him from our charge, together with their companion Jeremy Ives) to give me a fair and public meeting, in which I would make good our charge against him as principal, and all the rest of them as accessories. But nothing could provoke them to come fairly forth.

Yet not long after, finding themselves galled by the narrative lately published of what had passed in the last meeting near Wheeler street, they, to help themselves if they could, sent forth a counter-account of that meeting, and of the former at Barbican, as much to the advantage of their own cause, as they upon deliberate consideration could contrive it. This was published by Thomas Plant, a Baptist teacher, and one of Thomas Hicks's former compurgators; and bore, but falsely, the title of 'A Contest for Christianity; or, a faithful Relation of two late Meetings,' &c.

. To this I quickly writ and published an answer. And because I saw the design and whole drift of the Baptists was to shroud Thomas Hicks from our charge of forgery, under the specious pretence of his and their standing up and contending for Christianity, I gave my book this general title, 'Forgery no Christianity; or, a Brief Examen of a late Book.' &c. And having from their own book plainly convicted that which they called a faithful relation to be indeed a false relation, I, in an expostulatory postscript to the Baptists, reinforced our charge and my former challenge, offering to make it good against them before a public and free auditory. But they were too wary to appear further, either in person or in print.

This was the end of that controversy, which was observed to have this issue: that what those dialogues were written to prevent, was, by the dialogues, and their unfair, unmanly, unchristian carriage in endeavouring to defend them, hastened and brought to pass; for not a few of the Baptist members, upon this occasion, left their meetings and society, and came over to the Quakers' meetings, and were joined in fellowship with them. Thanks be to God.

The controversy which had been raised by those cavilling Baptists had not been long ended before another was raised by an Episcopal priest in Lincolnshire, who fearing, as it seemed, to lose some of his hearers to the Quakers, wrote a book which he mis-called 'A Friendly Conference between a Minister and a Parishioner of his inclining to Quakerism;' in which he mis-stated and greatly perverted the Quakers' principles, that he might thereby beget in his parishioners an aversion to them; and, that he might abuse us the more securely, he concealed himself, sending forth his book without a name.

This book coming to my hand, became my concern, after I had read it and considered the evil management and worse design thereof, to answer it; which I did in a treatise called, 'Truth Prevailing, and

Detecting Error ;' published in the year 1676. My answer I divided, according to the several subjects handled in the conference, into divers distinct chapters, the last of which treated of tithes. This being the priests' *Delilah*, and that chapter of mine pinching them it seems in a tender part, the belly, they laid their heads together, and with what speed they could sent forth a distinct reply to the last chapter of tithes in mine, under the title of 'The Right of Tithes asserted and proved.' This also came forth without a name, yet pretended to be written by another hand.

Before I had finished my rejoinder to this, came forth another, called 'A Vindication of the Friendly Conference ;' said to be written by the author of the feigned conference, who was not yet willing to trust the world with his name. So much of it as related to the subject I was then upon, tithes, I took into my rejoinder, the 'Right of Tithes,' which I published in the year 1678, with this title, 'The Foundation of Tithes Shaken,' &c.

After this it was a pretty while before I heard from either of them again. But at length came forth a reply to my last, supposed to be written by the same hand who had before written 'The Right of Tithes Asserted,' &c. but still without a name. This latter book had more of art than argument in it. It was indeed a hash of ill-cooked crambe, set off with as much flourish as the author was master of, and swelled into bulk by many quotations ; but those so wretchedly misgiven, misapplied, or perverted, that to a judicious and impartial reader I durst oppose my 'Foundation of Tithes Shaken' to the utmost force that book has in it. Yet, it coming forth at a time when I was pretty well at leisure, I intended a full refutation thereof ; and in order thereunto had written between forty and fifty sheets ; when other business more urgent intervening, took me off, and detained me from it so long, that it was then judged out of season, and so it was laid aside.

Hitherto the war I had been engaged in was in a sort foreign, with people of other religious persuasions, such as were open and avowed enemies; but now another sort of war arose, an intestine war, raised by some among ourselves; such as had once been of us, and yet retained the same profession, and would have been thought to be of us still; but having, through ill-grounded jealousies, let in discontents, and thereupon fallen into jangling, chiefly about church discipline, they at length broke into an open schism, headed by two northern men of name and note, John Wilkinson and John Story. The latter of whom, as being the most active and popular man, having gained a considerable interest in the west, carried the controversy with him thither, and there spreading it, drew many, too many, to abet him therein.

Among those, William Rogers, a merchant of Bristol, was not the least, nor least accounted of, by himself and some others. He was a bold and an active man, moderately learned, but immoderately conceited of his own parts and abilities, which made him forward to engage, as thinking none would dare to take up the gauntlet he should cast down. This high opinion of himself, made him rather a troublesome than formidable enemy.

That I may here step over the various steps by which he advanced to open hostility (as what I was not actually or personally engaged in)—he in a while arrived to that height of folly and wickedness, that he wrote and published a large book in five parts, to which he maliciously gave for a title, ‘The Christian Quaker distinguished from the Apostate and Innovator:’ thereby arrogating to himself, and those who were of his party, the topping style of ‘Christian Quaker;’ and no less impiously than uncharitably branding and rejecting all others, even the main body of friends, for apostates and innovators.

When this book came abroad, it was not a little

(and he, for its sake) cried up by his injudicious admirers, whose applause setting his head afloat, he came up to London at the time of the yearly meeting then following, and at the close thereof, gave notice in writing to this effect, viz. "That if any were dissatisfied with his book, he was there ready to maintain and defend both it and himself against all comers." This daring challenge was neither dreaded nor slighted, but an answer was forthwith returned in writing, signed by a few friends, amongst whom I was one, to let him know, that as many were dissatisfied with his book and him, he should not fail, God willing, to be met by the sixth hour next morning, at the meeting place, at Devonshire house.

Accordingly we met, and continued the meeting till noon or after; in which time he, surrounded with such of his own party as might abet and assist him, was so fairly foiled and baffled, and so fully exposed, that he was glad to quit the place, and, early next morning, the town also; leaving, in excuse for his going so abruptly off, and thereby refusing us another meeting with him, which we had earnestly provoked him to, this slight shift, "that he had before given earnest for his passage in the stage coach home, and was not willing to lose it."

I had before this gotten a sight of his book, and procured one for my use on this occasion, but I had not time to read it through: but a while after, Providence cast another of them into my hands very unexpectedly; for our dear friend George Fox passing through this country among friends, and lying in his journey at my house, had one of them in his bags, which he had made some marginal notes upon. For that good man, like Julius Cæsar, willing to improve all parts of his time, did usually, even in his travels, dictate to his amanuensis what he would have committed to writing. I knew not that he had this book with him, for he had not said anything to me of it, till going in the morning into his chamber, while he



was dressing himself, I found it lying on the table by him. And, understanding that he was going but for a few weeks, to visit friends in the meetings hereabouts, and the neighbouring parts of Oxford and Berkshire, and so return through this county again, I made bold to ask him if he would favour me so much as to leave it with me till his return, that I might have the opportunity of reading it through. He consented, and as soon almost as he was gone, I set myself to read it over. But I had not gone far in it, ere, observing the many foul falsehoods, malicious slanders, gross perversions, and false doctrines, abounding in it, the sense thereof inflamed my breast with a just and holy indignation against the work, and that devilish spirit in which it was brought forth: wherefore, finding my spirit raised, and my understanding divinely opened to refute it, I began the book again, and reading it with pen in hand, answered it paragraphically as I went. And so clear were the openings I received from the Lord therein, that by the time my friend came back, I had gone through the greatest part of it, and was too far engaged in spirit to think of giving over the work: wherefore, requesting him to continue the book a little longer with me, I soon after finished the answer, which, with friends' approbation, was printed, under the title of 'An Antidote against the Infection of William Rogers's Book, mis-called "The Christian Quaker,"' &c. This was written in the year 1682. But no answer was given to it, so far as I have ever heard, either by him or any other of his party, though many others were concerned therein, and some by name. Perhaps there might be a hand of Providence over-ruling them therein, to give me leisure to attend some other services, which soon after fell upon me.

For it being a stormy time, and persecution waxing hot upon the Conventicle Act, through the busy boldness of hungry informers, who, for their own advantage did not only themselves hunt after religious

and peaceable meetings, but drove on the officers, not only the more inferior and subordinate, but, in some places, even the justices also, for fear of penalties, to hunt with them and for them: I found a pressure upon my spirit to write a small treatise, to inform such officers how they might secure and defend themselves from being ridden by those malapert informers and made their drudges.

This treatise I called, 'A Caution to Constables, and other inferior Officers, concerned in the execution of the Conventicle Act: with some Observations thereupon, humbly offered by way of Advice to such well-meaning and moderate Justices of the Peace, as would not willingly ruin their peaceable Neighbours,' &c. This was thought to have some good service where it came, upon such sober and moderate officers, as well justices as constables, &c. as acted rather by constraint than choice; by encouraging them to stand their ground, with more courage and resolution, against the insults of saucy informers.

But, whatever ease it brought to others, it brought me some trouble, and had like to have brought me into more danger, had not Providence wrought my deliverance by an unexpected way. For as soon as it came forth in print, which was in the year 1683, one William Ayrs, of Watford, in Hertfordshire, a friend and acquaintance of mine, who was both an apothecary and barber, being acquainted with divers of the gentry in those parts, and going often to some of their houses to trim them, took one of these books with him when he went to trim sir Benjamin Titchborn, of Rickmansworth, and presented it to him, supposing he would have taken it kindly, as in like cases he had formerly done. But it fell out otherwise. For he looking it over after Ayrs was gone, and taking it by the wrong handle, entertained an evil opinion of it, and of me for it, though he knew me not.

He thereupon communicated both the book and his

thoughts upon it to a neighbouring justice, living in Rickmansworth, whose name was Thomas Fotherly; who concurring with him in judgment, they concluded that I should be taken up and prosecuted for it, as a seditious book (for a libel they could not call it) my name being to it at length.

Wherefore sending for Ayrs, who had brought the book, justice Titchborn examined him if he knew me, and where I dwelt. Who telling him he knew me well, and had been often at my house, he gave him in charge to give me notice that I should appear before him and the other justice at Rickmansworth, on such a day; threatening that if I did not appear, he himself should be prosecuted for spreading the book.

This put William Ayrs in a fright. Over he came in haste with this message to me, troubled that he should be a means to bring me into trouble. But I endeavoured to give him ease, by assuring him I would not fail (with God's leave) to appear at the time and place appointed, and thereby free him from trouble or danger. In the interim I received advice by an express out of Sussex, that Guli Penn, with whom I had had an intimate acquaintance and firm friendship from our very youths, was very dangerously ill, her husband being then absent in Pennsylvania, and that she had a great desire to see and speak with me.

This put me to a great strait, and brought a sore exercise on my mind. I was divided betwixt honour and friendship. I had engaged my word to appear before the justices; which to omit would bring dishonour on me and my profession. To stay till that time was come and past, might probably prove (if I should then be left at liberty) too late to answer her desire, and satisfy friendship.

After some little deliberation, I resolved, as the best expedient to answer both ends, to go over next morning to the justices, and lay my strait before them, and try if I could procure from them a respite of my appearance before them, until I had been in

Sussex, and paid the duty of friendship to my sick friend:—which I had the more hopes to obtain, because I knew those justices had a great respect for Guli: for when William Penn and she were first married they lived for some years at Rickmansworth, in which time they contracted a neighbourly friendship with both these justices and theirs, who ever after retained a kind regard for them both.

Early therefore in the morning I rode over. But being wholly a stranger to the justices, I went first to Watford, that I might take Ayr along with me, who supposed himself to have some interest in justice Titchborn; and when I came there, understanding that another friend of that town, whose name was John Wells, was well acquainted with the other justice, Fotherly; having imparted to them the occasion of my coming, I took them both with me, and hasted back to Rickmansworth. Where having put our horses up at an inn, and leaving William Ayr (who was a stranger to Fotherly) there, I went with John Wells to Fotherly's house; and being brought into a fair hall, I tarried there while Wells went into the parlour to him; and having acquainted him that I was there, and desired to speak with him, brought him to me with severity in his countenance.

After he had asked me, in a tone which spake displeasure, what I had to say to him, I told him I came to wait on him upon an intimation given me, that he had something to say to me: he thereupon plucking my book out of his pocket, asked me if I owned myself to be the author of that book: I told him, if he pleased to let me look into it, if it were mine, I would not deny it. He thereupon giving it into my hand, when I had turned over the leaves and looked it through, finding it to be as it came from the press, I told him I wrote the book, and would own it, all but the errors of the press. Whereupon he, looking sternly on me, answered, "Your own errors, you should have said."

Having innocency on my side, I was not at all daunted at either his speech or looks; but feeling the Lord present with me, I replied, "I know there are errors of the press in it, and therefore I excepted them; but I do not know there are any of mine in it, and therefore cannot except them. But," adding I, "if thou pleasest to show me any error of mine in it, I shall readily both acknowledge and retract it:" and thereupon I desired him to give me an instance in any one passage in that book, wherein he thought I had erred. He said he needed not go to particulars; but charged me with the general contents of the whole book. I replied, that such a charge would be too general for me to give a particular answer to; but if he would assign me any particular passage or sentence in the book, wherein he apprehended the ground of offence to lie, when I should have opened the terms, and explained my meaning therein, he might perhaps find cause to change his mind, and entertain a better opinion both of the book and me. And therefore I again entreated him to let me know what particular passage or passages had given him offence. He told me I needed not to be in so much haste for that; I might have it timely enough, if not too soon: "but this," said he, "is not the day appointed for your hearing; and therefore," added he, "what, I pray, made you in such haste to come now?" I told him I hoped he would not take it for an argument of guilt, that I came before I was sent for, and offered myself to my purgation before the time appointed. And this I spake with somewhat a brisker air; which had so much influence on him, as to bring a somewhat softer air over his countenance.

Then going on, I told him I had a particular occasion which induced me to come now, which was, that I received advice last night, by an express out of Sussex, that William Penn's wife (with whom I had had an intimate acquaintance and strict friendship, *ab ipsis fere*

*incunabilis*,\* at least a *teneris unguiculis*† lay now there very ill, not without great danger, in the apprehension of those about her, of her life; and that she had expressed her desire that I would come to her as soon as I could; the rather, for that her husband was absent in America. That this had brought a great strait upon me, being divided between friendship and duty; willing to visit my friend in her illness, which the nature and law of friendship required; yet unwilling to omit my duty by failing of my appearance before him and the other justice, according to their command and my promise; lest I should thereby subject, not my own reputation only, but the reputation of my religious profession to the suspicion of guilt, and censure of willingly shunning a trial. To prevent which I had chosen to anticipate the time, and come now, to see if I could give them satisfaction in what they had to object against me, and thereupon being dismissed, might pursue my journey into Sussex; or if by them detained, to submit to Providence, and by an express to acquaint my friend therewith, both to free her from an expectation of my coming, and myself from any imputation of neglect.

While I thus delivered myself, I observed a sensible alteration in the justice; and when I had done speaking, he first said he was very sorry for madam Penn's illness, of whose virtue and worth he spake very highly, yet not more than was her due. Then he told me, that for her sake he would do what he could to further my visit to her; "but," said he, "I am but one, and of myself can do nothing in it; therefore you must go to sir Benjamin Tichborn, and if he be at home, see if you can prevail with him to meet me, that we may consider of it."

"But I can assure you," added he, "the matter which will be laid to your charge concerning your book, is of greater importance than you seem to think

\* Almost from our cradle. † From our tender age.

it. For your book has been laid before the king and council; and the earl of Bridgewater, who is one of the council, hath thereupon given us command to examine you about it, and secure you."

"I wish," said I, "I could speak with the earl myself, for I make no doubt but to acquit myself unto him: and," added I, "if thou pleasest to give me thy letter to him, I will wait upon him with it forthwith. For although I know," continued I, "that he hath no favour for any of my persuasion, yet knowing myself to be wholly innocent in this matter, I can with confidence appear before him, or even before the king in council."

"Well," said he, "I see you are confident; but for all that, let me tell you, how good soever your intention was, you timed the publishing of your book very unluckily; for you cannot be ignorant, that there is a very dangerous plot lately discovered, contrived by the dissenters, against the government and his majesty's life." (This was the Rye-plot, then newly broke forth, and laid upon the Presbyterians). "And for you," added he, "to publish a book just at that juncture of time to discourage the magistrates and other officers from putting in execution those laws which were made to suppress their meetings, looks, I must tell you, but with a sourvy countenance upon you."

"If," replied I, with somewhat a pleasanter air, "there was any mis-timing in the case, it must lie on the part of those plotters, for timing the breaking forth of their plot while my book was a printing; for I can bring very good proof that my book was in the press, and well-nigh wrought off, before any man talked or knew of a plot, but those who were in it."

Here our discourse ended, and I taking for the present my leave of him, went to my horse, and changing my companion, rode to justice Tichborn's having with me William Ayrs, who was best acquainted with him, and who had casually brought this

trouble on me. When he had introduced me to Titchborn, I gave him a like account of the occasion of my coming at that time, as I had before given to the other justice. And both he and his lady, who was present, expressed much concern for Guli Penn's illness. I found this man to be of quite another temper than justice Fotherly; for this man was smooth, soft, and oily, whereas the other was rather rough, severe, and sharp. Yet, at the winding up, I found Fotherly my truest friend.

When I had told sir Benjamin Tichborn that I came from justice Fotherly, and requested him to give him a meeting to consider of my business, he readily without hesitation told me he would go with me to Rickmansworth, from which his house was distant about a mile; and calling for his horses, mounted immediately; and to Rickmansworth we rode.

After they had been a little while together, I was called in before them; and in the first place they examined me as to "what was my intention and design in writing that book." I told them the introductory part of it gave a plain account of it, viz. "That it was to get ease from the penalties of a severe law, often executed with too great a severity by unskilful officers, who were driven on beyond the bounds of their duty, by the impetuous threats of a sort of insolent fellows, as needy as greedy, who, for their own advantage, sought our ruin." To prevent which was the design and drift of that book, by acquainting such officers how they might safely demean themselves in the execution of their offices, towards their honest and peaceable neighbours, without ruining either their neighbours or themselves, to enrich some of the worst of men. And I humbly conceived it was neither unlawful nor unreasonable for a sufferer to do this, so long as it was done in a fair, sober, and peaceable way.

They then put me in mind of the plot; told me it was a troublesome and dangerous time, and my book



might be construed to import sedition, in discouraging the officers from putting the laws in execution, as by law and by their oath they were bound. And in fine they brought it to this issue, that they were directed to secure me, by a commitment to prison until the assize, at which I should receive a farther charge than they were provided now to give me; but because they were desirous to forward my visit to madam Penn, they told me they would admit me to bail, and, therefore, if I would enter a recognizance, with sufficient sureties, for my appearance at the next assize, they would leave me at liberty to go on my journey.

I told them I could not do it. They said they would give me as little trouble as they could, and therefore they would not put me to seek bail; but would accept those two friends of mine, who were then present, to be bound with me for my appearance.

I let them know my strait lay not in the difficulty of procuring sureties, for I did suppose myself to have sufficient acquaintance and credit in that place, if on such an occasion I could be free to use it; but, as I knew myself to be an innocent man, I had not satisfaction in myself to desire others to be bound for me, or to enter myself into a recognizance; that carrying in it, to my apprehension, a reflection on my innocence, and the reputation of my Christian profession.

Here we stuck and struggled about this a pretty while, till at length, finding me fixed in my judgment, and resolved rather to go to prison than give bail, they asked me if I was against appearing, or only against being bound with sureties to appear. I told them I was not against appearing; which as I could not avoid if I would, so I would not if I might; but was ready and willing to appear, if required, to answer whatsoever should be charged against me. But in any case of a religious nature, or wherein my Christian profession was concerned, which I took this case to be, I could not yield to give any other or farther security than my word or promise as a Christian.

They, unwilling to commit me, took hold of that, and asked if I would promise to appear. I answered, "Yes; with due limitations." "What do you mean by due limitations?" said they. "I mean," replied I, "if I am not disabled or prevented by sickness or imprisonment; for," added I, "as you allege that it is a troublesome time, I perhaps may find it so. I may for aught I know be seized and imprisoned elsewhere, on the same account for which I now stand here before you; and if I should, how then could I appear at the assize in this county?" "Oh," said they, "these are due limitations indeed! Sickness or imprisonment are lawful excuses, and if either of these befall you, we shall not expect your appearance here; but then you must certify to us, that you are so disabled by sickness or restraint."

"But," said I, "how shall I know when and where I shall wait upon you again after my return from Sussex?" "You need not," said they, "trouble yourself about that; we will take care to give you notice of both time and place, and till you hear from us, you may dispose yourself as you please."

"Well then," said I, "I do promise you, that when I shall have received from you a fresh command to appear before you, I will, if the Lord permit me life, health, and liberty, appear when and where you shall appoint." "It is enough," said they; "we will take your word." And, desiring me to give their hearty respects and service to madam Penn, they dismissed me with their good wishes for a good journey.

I was sensible that in this they had dealt very favourably and kindly with me; therefore I could not but acknowledge to them the sense I had thereof. Which done, I took leave of them, and mounting, returned home with what haste I could, to let my wife know how I had sped. And having given her a summary account of the business, I took horse again, and went so far that evening towards Worm-

inghurst that I got thither pretty early next morning, and, to my great satisfaction, found my friend in a hopeful way towards a recovery.

I staid some days with her; and then finding her illness wear daily off, and some other friends being come from London to visit her, I (mindful of my engagement to the justices, and unwilling by too long an absence to give them occasion to suspect I was willing to avoid their summons) leaving those other friends to bear her company longer, took my leave of her and them, and set my face homewards, carrying with me the welcome account of my friend's recovery.

Being returned home, I waited in daily expectation of a command from the justices to appear again before them, but none came. I spake with those friends who had been with me when I was before them, and they said they had heard nothing of it from them, although they had since been in company with them. At length the assize came, but no notice was given to me that I should appear there: in fine, they never troubled themselves nor me any farther about it.

Thus was a cloud, that looked black and threatened a great storm, blown gently over by a providential breath, which I could not but, with a thankful mind, acknowledge to the all-great, all-good, all-wise Disposer, in whose hand, and at whose command, are the hearts of all men, even the greatest; and who turns their counsels, disappoints their purposes, and defeats their designs and contrivances, as he pleases. For if my dear friend Guli Penn had not fallen sick, if I had not thereupon been sent for to her, I had not prevented the time of my appearance, but had appeared on the day appointed; and, as I afterwards understood, that was the day appointed for the appearance of a great many persons of the dissenting party in that side of the county, who were to be taken up and secured, on the account of the aforementioned

plot, which had been cast upon the Presbyterians. So that if I had then appeared with and amongst them, I had in all likelihood been sent to gaol with them for company, and that under the imputation of a plotter, than which nothing was more contrary to my profession and inclination.

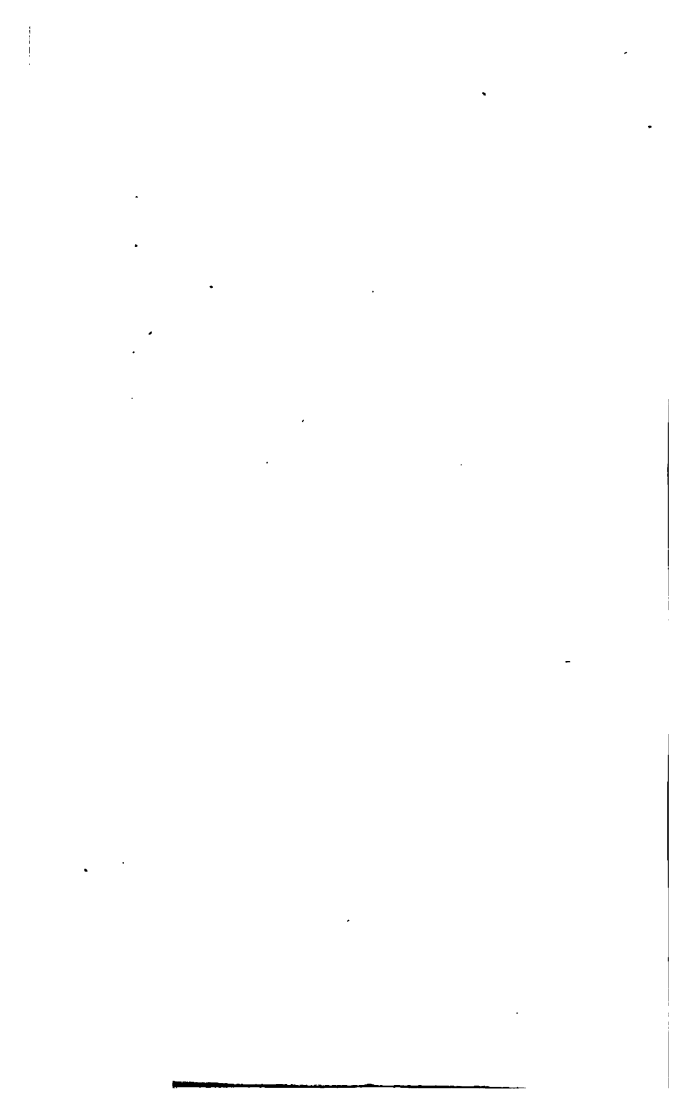
But though I came off so easy, it fared not so well with others; for the storm increasing many friends in divers parts, both of city and country, suffered greatly; the sense whereof did deeply affect me, and the more, for that I observed the magistrates, not thinking the laws which had been made against us severe enough, perverted the law in order to punish us. For, calling our peaceable meetings riots (which in the legal notion of the word riot, is a contradiction in terms), they indicted our friends as rioters for only sitting in a meeting, though nothing was there either said or done by them, and then set fines on them at pleasure.

This I knew to be not only against right and justice, but even against law; and it troubled me to think that we should be made to suffer not only by laws made directly against us, but even by laws that did not at all concern us. Nor was it long before I had occasion offered more thoroughly to consider this matter.

For a justice of the peace in this county, who was called sir Dennis Hampson, of Taplow, breaking in with a party of horse upon a little meeting near Wooburn, in his neighbourhood, the first of the fifth month, 1683, sent most of the men, to the number of twenty-three, whom he found there, to Aylesbury prison, though most of them were poor men who lived by their labour; and not going himself to the next quarter sessions at Buckingham, on the 12th of the same month, sent his clerk, with direction that they should be indited for a riot. Thither the prisoners were carried, and indicted accordingly; and being pressed by the court to traverse and give bail,

they moved to be tried forthwith, but that was denied them. And they, giving in writing the reason of their refusing bail and fees, were remanded to prison till the next quarter sessions; but William Woodhouse was again bailed, as he had been before; and William Mason and John Reeve, not being friends, but casually taken at that meeting, entered recognizance as the court desired, and so were released till next sessions. Before which time Mason died, and Reeve being sick appeared not, but got himself taken off. And in the eighth month following, the twenty-one prisoners that remained were brought to trial; a jury was found, who brought in a pretended verdict that they were *guilty of a riot*, for only sitting peaceably together, without a word or action; and though there was no proclamation made, nor they required to depart. But one of the jurymen afterwards did confess he knew not what a riot was; yet the prisoners were fined a noble a-piece, and re-committed to prison during life (a hard sentence), or the king's pleasure, or until they should pay the said fines. William Woodhouse was forthwith discharged, by his kinsman's paying the fine and fees for him. Thomas Dell and Edward Moore also, by other people of the world paying their fines and fees for them; and shortly after Stephen Pewsey, by the town and parish where he lived, for fear his wife and children should become a charge upon them. The other seventeen remained prisoners till king James's proclamation of pardon; whose names were, Thomas and William Sexton, Timothy Child, Robert Moor, Richard James, William and Robert Aldridge, John Ellis, George Salter, John Smith, William Tanner, William Batchelor, John Dolbin, Andrew Brothers, Richard Baldwin, John Jennings, and Robert Austin.

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# SEQUEL

TO THE

## LIFE OF THOMAS ELLWOOD.

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THOMAS ELLWOOD lived thirty years after the foregoing account of himself terminates; during which time he was actively employed in support of the cause, to the service of which he had so earnestly and disinterestedly devoted himself. To this literary and personal engrossment, no doubt, the cessation of his autobiography may be mainly attributed. His aptitude with his pen was indeed extraordinary, and never failed to evince itself on every occasion when argument, remonstrance, or defence of the body of which he had been so conspicuous a member, was either necessary or desirable.

Thus in 1683 he published a 'Discourse concerning Riots,' the object of which tract was to legally define the term "riot," in order to show that the meetings of friends in no degree partook of that character. In the same year he also published 'A Seasonable Dissuasive from Persecution, humbly and modestly, yet with Christian plainness of speech, offered to the consideration of all concerned therein; on behalf generally of all that suffer for conscience sake; particularly the people called Quakers.' This production is distinguished by the simple and unsophisticated energy which its title promises, and its

concluding appeal is peculiarly impressive. In 1685 he became involved in a controversy with William Rogers, who had attacked one of the brethren named George Whitehead, in a 'Rhyiming Scourge;' which Thomas Ellwood answered with 'Rogero Mastix; a Scourge for William Rogers;' wherein he lashes his opponent's poetry with the most happy unconsciousness of the defects of his own. As these traits of simplicity are amusing, a slight specimen of the poetical satire of friend Thomas Ellwood may amuse:—

“ *So flat, so dull, so rough, so void of grace,*  
*Where symphony and cadence have no place;*  
*So full of chasmes stuck with prosie pegs,*  
*Whereon his tired Muse might rest her legs,*  
 (Not having wings) and take new breath, that then  
 She might with much adoe hop on again.”

In the early part of 1686 he published a general 'Epistle to Friends,' written with a view to check some rising tendency to division and dispute in the society. The periods immediately preceding and following the revolution he appears to have passed in comparative retirement; and he partly occupied it in commencing his 'Davideis;' which, however, he did not finish till near twenty years after. On the death of George Fox in 1690, he prepared the journal of that celebrated leader for the press, to which he prefixed a brief but comprehensive view of his character. In 1694 he engaged in a controversy with George Keith, originally a Presbyterian of considerable learning and talent, who, after having been for nearly thirty years a member of the society of Friends, seceded from the main body, and formed in Pennsylvania (of which he was one of the earliest settlers) a separate congregation, that assumed to itself the denomination of 'Christian Quakers.' Several epistles in attack and defence were published on both sides; and after some cessation the dispute was again renewed in consequence of an attack by George Keith on William Penn, whom he charged



with Deism. This versatile controversialist Keith, who commenced life a Presbyterian, and remained for more than thirty years a Quaker, finally took orders under the Establishment, and obtained the living of Elburton in Sussex, where he died in 1715.

On the conclusion of his controversy with George Keith, Thomas Ellwood seems to have been chiefly engrossed with his connected view of his Scripture History, the first part of which appeared in 1705, under the title of, 'Sacred History, or the Historical Parts of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament gathered out from the other parts thereof, and digested into due method, in respect to order of time and place: with some Observations here and there, tending to illustrate some passages therein.' The second part, comprising the History of the New Testament, followed in 1709. This work has obtained considerable celebrity both in and out of the society of Friends; and probably may be deemed his principal production, a fifth edition being now on sale. In 1707 he closed his controversial career by a work designed to evince the spirituality of the Christian dispensation, and its abrogation of types and ceremonies; which was published under the title of 'The Glorious Brightness of the Gospel Day, dispelling the Shadows of the Legal Dispensation, and whatsoever else of human invention has been added thereto.'

In 1711 Thomas Ellwood ushered into the world his principal poetical production, entitled 'Davideis; or the Life of David, King of Israel;' in which, as in all the other offspring of his muse, the piety is much more conspicuous than the poetry. To the composition of this poem he had occasionally devoted some leisure hours for a considerable number of years, and for a long time without any view to publication. It is still read by numbers of his own persuasion, and has also reached a fifth edition.

It was the intention of this active and benevolent

man to add something to his journal, with a view to give an account of his books and writings; but he was prevented by the debility produced by an asthmatic disorder, to which, for the last few years of his life, he was subject. His 'Davideis' was therefore his latest publication, although he survived its appearance nearly two years. His death was produced by a paralytic attack with which he was seized on the 23d February 1713, and under the effects of which he lingered until the 1st of the following month, when his dissolution took place under circumstances evincing great composure and serenity. This event happened at Hanger Hill, near Amersham, Buckinghamshire, where he resided in great retirement, and apparently unconnected with business of any kind. He had lost his wife, who was a minister, about four years before. His own station in the society of Friends was that of elder, although he also sometimes appeared as a minister.

The abilities displayed by Thomas Ellwood in the assemblies of the body to which he belonged, rendered him a leader of great utility; and the loss of his services was very profoundly lamented, as appears by various testimonies to his worth, prefaced to former editions of his journal. One of these, after an extract illustrative of his character, thus concludes:—  
"Thomas Ellwood was a man of a comely aspect, of a free and generous disposition, of a courteous and affable temper, and pleasant conversation: a gentleman, a scholar, a true Christian, an eminent author, a good neighbour, and kind friend." Testimony less disposed by connexion to be partial, will, with some slight qualification as to learning and authorship, acquiesce in this description. Thomas Ellwood was certainly a man of considerable abilities, who possessed much natural sagacity, and was not without a share of learning. A small portion of conscious vanity on this score, which however chiefly exhi-

bited itself in a misconception of his poetical talents, while it but slightly detracts from the general solidity of his character,—as already insinuated in our brief introduction,—tends to render more conspicuous his single-mindedness and freedom from all disguise ; and taken altogether, his talents merit respect, and his integrity admiration.

A catalogue of the publications of a copious writer forming itself an illustration of character, a list of those of Thomas Ellwood is subjoined

## LIST OF T. ELLWOOD'S WRITINGS.

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1. An Alarm to the Priests, &c. 4to. 1 sheet	- 1660
2. A Fresh Pursuit, relative to the controversy with the Anabaptists, &c. broadside	- 1674
3. Forgery no Christianity, against T. Plant, 8vo. 9 sheets	- 1674
4. Truth prevailing and detecting Error, an Answer to 'A Friendly Conference,' 23½ sheets	1676
5. The Foundation of Tithes shaken, 8vo. 33 sheets	1678
6. An Antidote against the Infection of W. Rogers's Book, miscalled 'The Christian Quaker,' 4to. 31 sheets	- 1682
7. A Caution to Constables, &c. concerned in the execution of the Conventicle Act, 4to. 2½ sheets	1683
8. A Discourse concerning Riots, 4to. 2 sheets	1683
9. A Seasonable Dissuasive from Persecution, 4to. 1½ sheet	- 1683
10. Rogero Mastix; a Rod for W. Rogers, 4to. 4 sheets	- 1685
11. An Epistle to Friends, 4to.	- 1686
12. The Account from Wycombe, lately published by John Raunce and Charles Harris, Examined and found false, 4to. 2½ sheets	- 1689
13. A Reply to J. H.'s Answer to W. Penn's Examination and State of Liberty Spiritual, 4to. 13 sheets	- 1691
14. Answer to Leonard Key's late printed sheet, broadside	- 1693
15. Deceit Discovered and Malice Manifested, in Leonard Key's late Paper, 1 sheet	- 1693
16. A Fair Examination of a Foul Paper by J. Raunce and L. Key, 3 sheets	- 1693

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| 17. | An Epistle to Friends ; briefly commemorating the gracious dealings of the Lord with them, and warning them to beware of that spirit of contention and division which hath appeared of late in George Keith, 8vo. 5 sheets | 1694 |
| 18. | A Further Discovery of that Spirit of Contention and Division which hath appeared of late in George Keith, 8vo. 8 sheets                                                                                                   | 1694 |
| 19. | Truth Defended, and the Friends thereof cleared from the false charges, foul reproaches, and envious cavils cast upon it and them by George Keith, &c. 8vo. 11 sheets                                                      | 1695 |
| 20. | An Answer to G. Keith's Narrative of his proceedings at Turner's Hall, 8vo. 14½ sheets                                                                                                                                     | 1696 |
| 21. | A Sober Reply on behalf of the People called Quakers, to two petitions against them, 4to. 2 sheets                                                                                                                         | 1699 |
| 22. | Sacred History of the Old Testament, folio, 150 sheets                                                                                                                                                                     | 1705 |
| 23. | The Glorious Brightness of the Gospel Day dispelling the Shadows of the Legal Dispensation, 12 sheets                                                                                                                      | 1707 |
| 24. | Sacred History of the New Testament, folio, 111 sheets                                                                                                                                                                     | 1709 |
| 25. | Daiveis. The Life of David, King of Israel, & Poem, 8vo. 20½ sheets                                                                                                                                                        | 1712 |

MANUSCRIPTS.

1. An Answer to a Paper directed to the Members of the Society of Quakers, especially to those that frequent the Town of Feversham, in Kent. 1672. To which the Priest replying, T. Ellwood wrote a Rejoinder. The whole about 15 sheets. 1672 or 1673.
2. A Reply to the Priest's second Book, called ' The Right of Tithes Re-asserted.' 46 sheets. About 1681.
3. Some Remarks on Gerard Crosse's ' General History of the Quakers,' in Latin. 3 or 4 sheets. About 1695 or 1696.
4. A Rejoinder to the Book called ' Satan Disrobed, by the

214 LIST OF T. ELLWOOD'S WRITINGS.

- Author of the *Snake in the Grass*, in Reply to T. Ellwood's Answer to G. Keith's Narrative.' 27 sheets. 1696.
5. Some Instructions for Children. About 2 sheets.
  6. An Answer to G. Keith's Deism of W. Penn and his Brethren. 37 sheets. 1700.
  7. An Answer to John Shockling, Priest of Ash, near Sandwich, in Kent, concerning Baptism, 1701; and a Rejoinder to his Reply, 1702; about 3 sheets.
  8. The Tithe Dialogue Improved, for the better explaining the present State of Tithes, by the same Method of a Dialogue, supposed to be holden between a Tithe-man and a Quaker. 6 sheets. 1707.
  9. A volume of Miscellaneous Poems. About 20 sheets.
  10. Several Decades of Letters to particular Persons About 35 sheets.
  11. To Robert Snow, in Answer to his Objections.
  12. An Account of Tithes in general.

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